THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM

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THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM

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GOVERNOR-GENERAL W. CAMERON FORBES. *Frontispiece.*

THE Philippine Problem

1898–1913

BY

FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

AUTHOR OF "THE BLOW FROM BEHIND," "AROUND THE WORLD IN NINETY DAYS," "IN THE SHOE STRING COUNTRY," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED

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To

THE MEMORY OF MY CLOSEST FRIEND

FOR MANY YEARS

MAJOR-GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD

U. S. A.

AND TO THAT OF HIS SON

COLONEL GUY HOWARD

U. S. A.

HIS FIRST-BORN, WHO WAS KILLED

IN THE PHILIPPINES

INTRODUCTION

THIS book is an effort to put between the covers of one small volume all that the students of our Philippine problem need to know for a mastery of the subject upon all its broad lines.

The first chapter comprehends just so much of the history and geography of the Islands as is necessary for this purpose, together with a succinct account of the task as it first presented itself to the American people.

Beginning with the second chapter, the volume becomes an account of what we have tried to accomplish and have actually attained, closing with a study of the present needs of the situation and what appears to be the probable outcome of the future.

The author has no point to make further than to relate the facts and to state what they demonstrate to him. The facts must be known before any intelligent understanding of the situation confronting us in Asiatic waters can be possible.

F. C.

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THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM IN 1898

Situation and extent of the Islands — Brief history — The friars the real government — Commerce discouraged as a policy — Tribute exacted from all natives — No system of justice — Natives purposely kept ignorant — Tagalogs not the Filipinos — Study of the different races with degree of civilization and literacy — Less than one tenth could read and write in any tongue — But one per cent could read and write in any language in which there were books of general knowledge or newspapers — The rebellion against Spain in 1898 — The leaders induced by Spain to leave the Islands for a money consideration, all of which is secured by Aguinaldo — The American occupation begins.

THE Philippines were discovered by the people of the United States upon May Day, 1898, when Commodore Dewey met the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. Before that, probably not one American in a hundred even recollected the Archipelago's existence.

And yet the Philippines, with an area of 115,029 square miles, occupy more land surface than all New England and New York combined. They number 3141 islands, of which only 1668 have been named.

The group lies in an almost perfect triangle, with its most acute angle reaching up to a north latitude of 21°, which is that of Honolulu, of Vera Cruz, and the center of the Sahara. This apex is a round thousand miles southwest of Japan, and five hundred southeast of Hongkong. The western side of this triangle, eleven hundred miles long, rests upon Borneo. Its eastern side, of about the same dimension, runs to the Celebes Islands, between which and Borneo we may construct the base, with a line through the Celebes and Sulu Seas, a length of about seven hundred miles, 6° above the equator, which is the latitude of the northern boundary of Brazil, the southern boundary of Egypt, and of Colombo in Ceylon. The group is structurally connected with Borneo and the Celebes by three isthmuses, which are partly submerged.

It cannot be determined who was the first foreign visitor to the Philippines, nor when he arrived. Neither can we tell more definitely of the origin of the people this first adventurer found there, or of their predecessors, if there were any. The earliest authentic records upon

this subject are those in Chinese describing a trading voyage in the thirteenth century. The three hundred years thereafter are blank. Then came the Portuguese navigator Magellan, in the employ of Spain. He arrived in 1521 only to meet death, after raising the flag of his new sovereign, upon Mactán, a small island just south of Cebú, while attempting to conquer a local ruler.

The ethnologists seem to agree that the Negritos, the present pigmies of the Islands, were the original inhabitants and that their dominion was overthrown by the Malays, the forbears of practically all the Filipinos, as we know them. It is to the Malay, then, that we must look for the ancestral race of the Islands — and except in physique and the unimportant differences due to location, the Filipinos are Malays, as pure as any others; their characteristics, their natural instincts, are the same as those of their brothers upon the mainland to the westward, and upon the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Four years after Magellan, Del Cano, also in the employ of Spain, called at Mindanao, but did no more than call. For some forty years thereafter no white man visited the Islands — which had already been given their present name in honor of Philip II — until came the man who may properly be called the

Father of the Philippines, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi. This explorer, with an expedition of four hundred Spanish soldiers and sailors, left Mexico, where he was in the Spanish service, warranted as governor and captain-general for life of all the islands he might occupy. He came to Cebú in 1565 and erected the first structures of white men, a fort and several dwellings. His most famous companion was an Augustinian monk, Andrés de Urdaneta, who, with four others of his order, was intrusted with the spiritual care of such races as were conquered.

The adventurers survived, chiefly by baptizing the niece of a native ruler and marrying her to a Spaniard; and when they baptized her uncle a little later, Cebú became friendly territory. In 1566 came Juan de Salcedo, grandson of Legaspi and a youth of but seventeen years, who was destined to become the conqueror of the Philippines. He was but twenty-one, in 1570, when he was one of the leaders of a successful expedition against Manila, then with its environs a place of some thirty thousand Malays. In 1571 Legaspi organized the government of Cebú upon Spanish lines, dividing all the natives as slaves among his favorites. This done, he set out for Manila, whose inhabitants burned it upon seeing his approach. The modern city, as we know it, was then founded upon the ruins with stately

Catholic ceremonies, its government confided to alcaldes, and its domain divided among the conquerors so that each had a plot upon which to build his home. The native sovereign was baptized and his name changed to Felipe in honor of the Spanish monarch; the missionaries spread over Luzon as rapidly as their movements could be made safely, and young Salcedo proceeded to do the rest of the converting with the sword. Salcedo, though, to do him justice, was a benevolent conqueror, and became a hero to the natives, being ultimately canonized in their history to a place second only to that of his grandfather, who lived but a year following his gaining of Manila. In two or three years, the entire Archipelago was under Spanish domination, except the present province of Cagayan, the most northern on Luzon, and Mindanao and the Sulu group at the extreme south, the conquered districts having a total population of about six hundred and seventy-five thousand.

In the decade following 1580, the Islands were made to feel the heavy hand which sooner or later has settled down like a pestilence upon all of Spain's colonial possessions. In the year mentioned, a new régime came into power and with it a fresh governor with a life tenure and immunity from any oversight by Madrid. He came at his own expense with a choice crew of

his own picking, and then the Philippines for the first time were introduced to that principle of Spanish colonizing officials—that a colonial office is a private asset and not a public trust. The alcaldes, the chief magistrates of Manila, who had theretofore been two in number, were increased to seventeen, a fair example of what took place wherever an office could be found for any favorite of the new governor. Bishop Salazar at the time wrote of these officials, "They came poor and with scant salaries, and they deprived the Philippines of rice from their fields and all the other harvested products they could get."

The fines that were imposed by the magistrates became their private fortunes. No compensation was made to the natives for labor rendered to Spaniards, and whether taxes were or were not collected became dependent upon the ability of the taxed to make terms for non-payment. The friars were as black as the laymen, the soldiery, and the officials; and right there was laid the foundation of that hatred of religious orders that has persisted until now.

One result of the complaints carried to Madrid was the king's decision that the remedy for the outrages was to send as many missionaries as could be made available, and the Franciscan, the Dominican, and the Recoleto friars came in shiploads, following the Augustinians and the

MANILA. AFTER A RAIN.

Jesuits. These orders were in continual altercation, and they even denied the authority of the governor of the Islands, and did not hesitate to lead open rebellion against his administration. They incited the assassination of at least one governor,[1] and all historians have agreed that the friars were responsible for the maladministrations that followed one another with almost relentless progression. By the opening of the seventeenth century, the friar landholdings were immense, and became subjects of official inquiry; but no inquiry was conducted too far, for the meddlers were informed by the archbishop resident that if they persisted in the inquisition he would excommunicate them. This threat was undoubtedly applied at all other times whenever the needs were sufficiently pressing, and before long all governors fell into the custom of confirming any titles to real estate that the friars said they owned. Nor did the monasteries stop at this; they defied the authority of the Pope himself to subject them to his control; and every time his representatives tried to enforce their rule, the friars met them with stern refusals, and in each instance came off victorious. The king gave especial instructions that the Pope was to be obeyed, but to no avail; and when the monarch

[1] T. H. Pardo de Tavera, "History of Philippines," vol. I, Census P. I., pp. 316–317.

pressed the contention, he was informed by the heads of the orders that they would withdraw altogether from the Islands if they were not let alone — and the king surrendered.

It soon became apparent that the best lands were claimed by the friars, and every priest was wealthy. It was common for one of this class to have every need provided for by his parishioners while at the same time he enjoyed an annual income of ten thousand dollars from the rentals of the lands he claimed as his private property. It is also matter of record that they incited a wholesale massacre of all foreigners in the Islands on one occasion not yet a century past, upon the excuse that these strangers had poisoned the water supply and brought on cholera, when the truth was that the massacre was planned to checkmate the power of the foreigners, whose every act lessened the control of the church. In other words, the church was supreme — and not alone through the methods described, but by the very laws of the temporal throne of the mother country. For example, no formal complaint of an alleged crime by any inhabitant became of legal effect until the local curate had set his approval thereon. No financial report, no enrolling of natives in military service, and no other official document became effective until *viséed* by the priest. Then, too, to cement this control, it was

illegal for any priest who was not a Spaniard to come to the Islands. Their domination, therefore, was complete. If there was anything that they wanted, they took it, and then either traded favors with or controlled the temporal power, until their possession was confirmed; and from 1580 until almost 1900 they successfully defied God, in the Pope, and Man, in the monarchs of Spain — and even we could not cut the knot. We could only untie it with money.

Commerce was throttled by deliberate policy. The Islands were permitted to carry on trade with no European nation except Spain. At first they could not barter, even with Spanish colonies, but this ban was later modified to permit the traverse to Mexico of one ship a year, of a fixed maximum tonnage and a maximum value of cargo. Upon its return voyage, this sole bottom could bring only a stated sum of money, and any consignor on an outgoing ship, no matter how insignificant, was compelled to attend his goods in his own person, until they were actually delivered to the consignee. Not a dollar's worth could be legally sold to anybody residing in Mexico, the one important customer then in the New World, because, for one reason, the merchants of Cadiz and Seville found that such a trade would mean competition with their monopoly.

Among other restrictions imposed was a rule that nobody could ship goods who was not a member of the board of trade. This meant that the applicant must have resided in the Islands for a certain term of years, besides possessing property to the value of eight thousand dollars. He also had to contribute his proportion of a present to the naval officer in command of the ship, this donation amounting to twenty thousand dollars for each round voyage. In addition, the prospective shipper had to contribute from twenty-five to forty per cent of the value of his consignment to certain aldermen, members of the army, or other petty officials who needed money. The method by which this extortion was carried out was for the government to issue to these hangers-on gratuitous permits to ship goods in a particular bottom, documents which cost other people a large sum of money. These permits, thus gratuitously given, stated on the face that they could only be sold to members of the board of trade. The results are easily imagined, besides being recorded by writers whose revelations have not been challenged. The bona fide shipper appeared at the wharf with his goods, after submitting to the foregoing payment to the fund for the captain, and applied for a permit to put his goods on board. He was informed that all the permits had been issued and there was therefore no room for his

shipment. Thereupon he was obliged to have recourse to the gratuitous holders of these very permits. It was common for the merchant thus to be mulcted for five hundred dollars before he could put on board goods the total value of which would not exceed twice that amount. Of course there was a division of this plunder between the officials who first issued the permits and those who sold them. These practices obtained, with intermissions of negligible length, for about a hundred and fifty years, and then were modified gradually; but it was not until England forced Spain to open Manila to foreign trade in 1835 that foreigners could become established there and do business in a rational manner.

For its revenues, the course of the government was hardly more defensible. Every native from the beginning had to pay a tribute for himself and for his wife, if he had one; the government made tobacco a monopoly; stamped paper was universally introduced; papal bulls were sold to those who could be made to believe that they needed them at the exorbitant price fixed; and cock fighting was imported so that the government could charge for licensing it. As late as 1834, the insular revenues were increased by government traffic in opium, and in 1850 by setting up a lottery. All customs were collected on an *ad valorem* basis, and the assessing officials were never sure of the value

until they learned how much money the consignee had and just how much he needed the consignment. Every native had to give forty days' work to the officials in his vicinity or pay a fine, — which oppression obtained even up to 1884.

As to justice, and the impartial, scientific, steady administration of it, we must say that it was unknown. The courts were all presided over by Spaniards no better and no worse than the men who filled other governmental positions out there; and the people as a whole learned that fines and imprisonment depended upon the purse and influence of the one accused. It was common practice for a judge to study the decisions of his predecessor with the view to reopening a decided case as a means by which his own income might be augmented; for the salaries were small, as, indeed, were the salaries of most officials. Spain worked on the established theory that a colonial official was going to be corrupt anyway, and that it was thus a waste of governmental finances to pay him any stipend; all the government allowed him was the office. The judges, their clerks and petty officials, usually many more in number than were needed, and all employed upon the basis just stated, multiplied the required proceedings and trials, invented needless rules and documents, all of which cost the litigants money and

increased the receipts of the officers.[1] It was a common thing for a rich man to spend years in jail without any hearing upon his case, before he would submit to the terms by which he could secure his release. At the time of the beginning of our occupation, ninety men were found in one of the Manila prisons in this situation. I recall a visit upon one occasion to an old man in Manila who had been thus deprived of his liberty for more than ten years. Before he went there, he secured his freedom by a bribe of half his fortune, only to be reincarcerated when the court learned that he had not surrendered all he had, and to be informed that upon delivery of the balance he could go his way. After several years, he was about to yield, when our troops arrived and set up a court that would listen to an application for a writ of *habeas corpus.*

Upon the authority of John Foreman, of the Royal Geographical Society, and the author of what is universally admitted to be, up to 1906, the most authoritative historical work concerning the Islands, I am able to cite the following case as typical. A planter in Negros Island was charged with homicide. The local court discharged him, but the man, wise in his generation, hurried to Manila with Foreman to

[1] Blair and Robertson, "The Philippine Islands," vol. LI, pp. 220, 221.

get the Supreme Court, the highest court in the Islands, to confirm his sentence. Here he was confronted with a demand for legal expenses so enormous that he could only hope to meet them by mortgaging his plantation for every dollar it would bring, and when he had spent that in vain, Foreman loaned him two hundred dollars to supply the deficiency, and they returned, convinced that the matter was disposed of for all time. To their consternation, however, it was not long before a newly appointed judge in the local tribunal had the man rearrested and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, comforted by the assurance of his lawyer that if he had sufficient means the matter could perhaps soon be arranged.

If anybody be inclined to think that my conclusions are too severe, he may refer to Mr. Foreman's work.[1] There he says:

"No one experienced in the Colony ever thought of privately prosecuting a captured brigand, for a criminal or civil lawsuit in the Philippines was one of the worst calamities that could befall a man. Between notaries, procurators, barristers, and sluggish progress of the courts, a litigant was fleeced of his money, often worried into a bad state of health, and kept in horrible suspense for years. It was as

[1] John Foreman, "The Philippine Islands," pp. 239 *et seq.* (London; T. Fisher Unwin.)

hard to get the judgment executed as it was to win the case. Even when the question at issue was supposed to be settled, a defect in the sentence could always be concocted to reopen the whole affair. If the case had been tried and judgment given under Civil Code, a way was often found to convert it into a criminal case; and when apparently settled under the Criminal Code, a flaw could be discovered under the Laws of the Indies, or the *Siete Partidas*, or the Roman Law, or the *Novísima Recopilación*, or the *Antigueros fueros*, Decrees, Royal Orders, *Ordenánzas de buen Gobierno*, and so forth, by which the case could be reopened.

"Availing one's self of the dilatoriness of the Spanish law, it was possible for a man to occupy a house, pay no rent, and refuse to quit on legal grounds during a couple of years or more. A person who had not a cent to lose could persecute another of means by a trumped-up accusation until he was ruined, by an '*information de pobreza*' — a declaration of poverty — which enabled the persecutor to keep the case going as long as he chose without needing money for fees."

When the Spaniard first came, the tribes he visited had alphabets and wrote upon leaves. As rapidly as the friars extended their outposts, they usually established what they termed schools, but which, as a matter of fact, were not

such at all in the ordinary sense of the word. The primary object of these institutions was not education but evangelization. There was no system of general character in any part of the Islands, each priest setting up his school when and where he pleased, and giving it a curriculum arranged by the same authority. Nobody except the friars had anything at all to say about education, and in addition to reading and writing nothing was taught that was not of a religious character, such as lives of the saints, their sacrifices and doctrines. No book could be brought into the Islands which had not passed the censorship of the church officials at Manila, and their ban descended upon everything that would tell of any country except Spain; and of that only what was greatly in her favor succeeded in reaching the people. The friars would not teach Spanish to the natives, because that would enable them to understand the governmental officials, which would destroy the great influence the friars possessed over the natives on account of being the only persons who could act as their interpreters in dealing with officialdom whose members, as a rule, knew little or nothing of the many dialects. The priest was in absolute control in his parish, the ignorant people looking to him as the man who could condemn them to everlasting torment or alone save them from it. His word was the final

law, and the crimes committed by these priests, for whose conduct there was no possible redress, constitute a record that is appalling.

Thus was the Filipino kept in ignorance until two centuries had passed. Then, with the opening of the Philippine ports to residence of foreigners and the Open Door for world commerce, the ideas that sprang into the world with the French Revolution and that in America began to reach through the Islands; and in 1863, in the hope of averting by a single considerate law the injustice of three hundred years, Spain passed an act providing for general education in the Islands upon a comprehensive, modern plane. Primary instruction was to be obligatory and gratuitous, and no fault could reasonably be found with the law as it read. But when it came to the test of application, education was left just where it was before, in the hands of the friars, who, for the reasons already stated, were opposed to anything that would give real knowledge to the masses of the people. The superintendence of the school was placed in the hands of the parish priest. Under the law, Spanish had to be taught. Taking advantage of the provision by which he controlled the oversight of the teachers, the priest permitted that tongue to be taught only by those who did not understand it, or who did not understand the dialect of the pupils. It was further

arranged that the total salary actually received by the teachers reached the average of two dollars per month, without board. The opportunity which this beggarly salary gave to the priest to insure the fulfillment of his directions should not be lost sight of; and we may be certain that the chances thus afforded to prevent the teaching of anything that would lift the natives out of their complete ignorance of the outside world and its institutions were utilized to their fullest extent. The imagination can hardly compass the devices which these shrewd priests evolved to continue their control; and there were often no attempts at sanitation about the schoolhouses, although the conditions that obtained were a terrible menace to the health of the pupils.[1]

In approaching a study of the helpless people who were subjected to this pitiless misrule, each reader should understand that as Manila has been the only world-famous port in the Islands,

[1] "A decree of the general government, issued October 6, 1885, provided for a competition to be followed by prizes for the best grammars written in Visayan, Cebuano, Ilocano, Bicol, Pangasinan, and Pampango, there being one already in Tagalog. Naturally these grammars, which were written in different dialects and taught in the public schools, made it more difficult (and that was the object) for the Spanish language to become general. Matters reached such a stage that teachers were punished and threatened with deportation, and some were actually deported, for teaching Spanish." T. G. del Rosario, Census P. I., vol. III, pp. 594, 595.

always their business center, the only port of calling of all shipping of magnitude, the seat of government, the only large city, that point came to signify the Philippines and their inhabitants, the Filipinos. A greater error or one leading to more misconception can hardly be imagined. If the Filipinos in 1898 had been the bright-looking brown men in white duck one saw about Manila, our problem would have been relatively simple, as many of them, through constant association with Europeans, the consequent infusion of foreign blood, and considerable education, were able to manage large affairs, and had developed into men who were the equals of almost any others in a similar situation. But unfortunately these were not the Filipinos at all; they were almost invariably the best of the Tagalogs, but one of the eight so-called Christian tribes, whose aggregate numbers amounted to 6,987,686. Of these, the Tagalogs had but 1,460,695, about twenty per cent of all the natives termed Christians; while there were absolutely wild men and Mohammedan Moros to the number of 647,740 according to the best estimate, but who never could be counted with exactitude, making the total population of the Archipelago at least 7,635,426, and probably eight million,[1] as we have since learned.

[1] These figures just given are based upon the census of 1903; because it was the first reliable one ever taken in the Islands;

The problem in the Philippines, in 1898, then, was not the problem of the Tagalogs, substantially all of whom were within one hundred and twenty-five miles of Manila, and the large majority right in the city or at its very doors; it was the problem of five times as many altogether different people with different tongues, the large majority of them far from the influences of a metropolitan community, and more than half a million of them hopeless savages besides.

There are only eleven islands of any considerable magnitude: Luzon, on the north, and, to the south of it and but some twenty miles distant, Mindoro, Masbate, and Samar, all side by side; then, still farther southward and similarly arranged, come Panay, Negros, Cebú, Leyte, Palaúan, and Bojol, the latter the only one more than twenty miles away from the first group. Last of all, and but fifteen miles from Leyte, is Mindanao.

Of the total length of the Archipelago, north to south, Luzon and Mindanao consume fully

for the same reason, the statistics of population and literacy which follow use the same authority. Between 1898 and 1903, of course, the population had not appreciably altered. Literacy, however, was undoubtedly more general at the end of this period, after four years of American schools, than at its beginning, so that the natives are consequently credited as having in 1898 more literacy than in fact they possessed, which is not so important as that they be done no injustice.

four fifths, or some eight hundred miles; and in area, with 40,969 and 36,292 square miles respectively, each, with the other eliminated, is larger than all the remainder combined, which have but 29,562 square miles.

All of these large islands are mountainous, and in their natural condition abound with tropical fauna that is apt for the guerrilla warfare in which primitive people excel.

Of the remaining 3130 islands, but 20 have more than a hundred square miles, 729 are less than a mile square, and 2046 have less than one tenth of a mile.

Luzon is 530 miles long, and the upper half of it, on the average, 100 miles wide. A little north of Manila, the island suddenly narrows to forty-three miles, and never exceeds that at any point farther to the south, where in several places it is not more than a fourth of that.

Talking in a large way, half the inhabitants of the Archipelago lived on Luzon, with its population of 3,745,406, all termed Christians except 223,506 wild men.

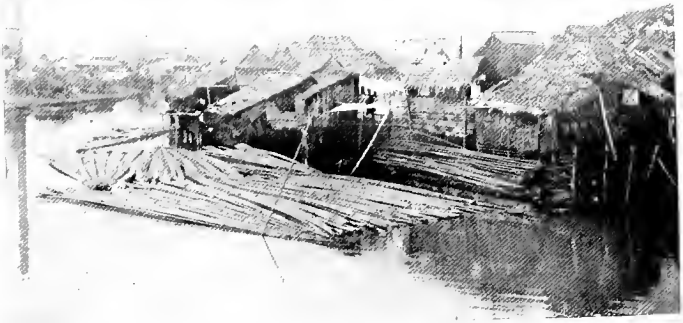
The million and a half Tagalogs (round numbers will now be employed unless the figures are plainly to the contrary), comprising some five twelfths of the population of the island, occupied a section extending one hundred miles to the north from Manila and forty miles to the eastward, in the very heart of Luzon; to the

south of the capital they filled the entire Island for another one hundred miles, reaching to about one hundred and sixty miles from its extreme southern point, making the total territory of the tribe thirteen thousand square miles or thereabouts — a space approximating the state of Maryland and one and one half times as large as Massachusetts.

Eleven hundred thousand or more, nearly three fourths of all the Tagalogs, lived within seventy-five miles of Manila, and of this number some fifteen per cent resided in the city. Of the remaining eighty-five per cent more than one third, or three hundred and eighty thousand, lived in twenty-three other cities of ten thousand or more.

The salient characteristics of the Tagalog, then, could be mastered in Manila or its immediate vicinity. To be sure, the traveler, if he went no farther away, might be misled by the appearances of higher cultivation which the natives were bound to exhibit in this center of education and refinement, where they had come in closest contact with civilizing influences. But the picture of what Manila was in certain respects in 1898 and for four or five years later is typical of what we had to meet everywhere.

Practically three houses in every five in Manila were of bamboo, with a thick nipa palm thatch, which was ordinarily the home of ants



THE MANILA OF 1898. NIPA DISTRICT.

THE MANILA OF 1898. TYPICAL NATIVE SHANTIES.

and other interesting little animals. This flimsy structure, usually of one room, rested upon four posts that supported it under each corner at a height of from two to six or even more feet above the ground. If the space thus formed was not inclosed, it was the home of the family pigs, carabao, pony, and hens, when there were any, which was the rule. Usually these denizens fed upon what was dropped through a hole in one corner of the only floor the place possessed; but even with these scavengers the surrounding atmosphere was sometimes not at all to be desired. Vivid imagination can hardly invoke worse conditions than those afforded by the actualities, many of which have not by any means been indicated. Hundreds of these structures, with all the animals their occupants could buy, were crowded as closely as possible into large sections of Manila, some above solid ground, but the majority, probably, close to water, for the native liked to employ a river or a canal as his water supply for all purposes. He and his carabao and his pigs, his hens, and his family bathed and often drank in the same stream. The few dishes and pots he possessed, together with the family wardrobe, his dutiful wife habitually cleaned in this common water, and as it saved labor, the nearer the shack was to the stream the better; and so it very often was placed right in it. There was usually no

furniture in the dwelling beyond a bench or two and a table, all rudely fashioned by the proprietor.

Upon rising in the morning, each member of the family, except the baby in arms, lighted a cigarette and puffed at it until the breakfast was served in a single gourd, which was placed on the floor. Seated about it, resting the body on their heels, the family gorged itself in turn, each putting a hand into the receptacle and seizing all of the rice it would contain. Some six or seven square feet of strong garlic, gathered in one corner, was apt to fill the room with its pungent odors to add to those that came from beneath.

The repast concluded, the mother would wash the pot and the single wooden spoon in the filthy river (I have seen it done in the Pasig River, in Manila, between a carabao enjoying its bath and a group of women washing clothing), and as soon as she returned, she would daub a betel nut with lime and proceed to chew upon it, thus blackening her teeth irremediably, and tingeing the saliva a deep red, as there was frequent opportunity to observe. Such were some of the details of the daily life of the great majority of the Tagalogs in Manila, when we first came.

There was little use by them of anything approaching a public sewer. Where the river was

not deep and there were no animals, the refuse of the family floated about in open drains, which formed by accident, were never cleaned, and over which the people seemed especially to delight to build their homes, — it was so convenient. If by chance there was a well about, it was almost sure to derive from the drain much of its water supply. Scores of acres in Manila were covered with just such buildings as have been described, with no streets among them, no alleyways, just a huddled mass of shacks crowded together as closely as possible, seldom more than a yard apart and usually directly attached to each other. When the night came, the family lay on nipa rugs one sixty-second of an inch thick, placed on the floor, which was made of a lattice of split bamboo an inch wide, set a quarter of an inch apart, so as to admit full play of air from beneath. The ponies, the pigs, the carabao, and the hens, therefore, were in a position to provide all sorts of entertainment for more than one sense, to the family above, and this they seldom failed to do.

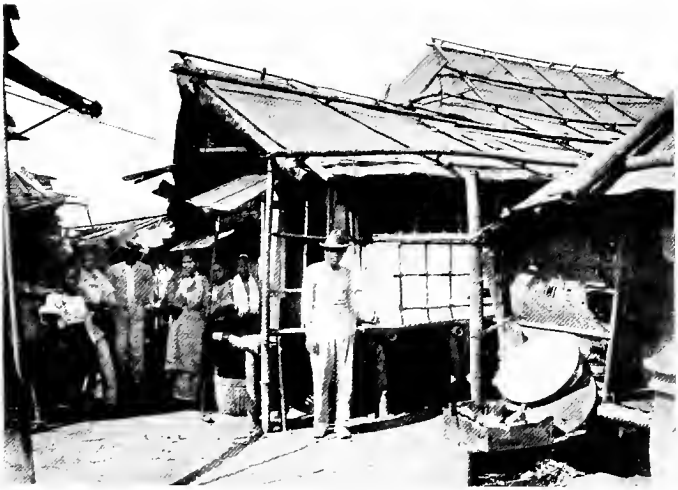
There were no further preparations for bed than those described, the little clothing that was worn remaining on the body until it came time to clean it in the river.

For an official statement of some of the sanitary conditions referred to, so that the reader may not fear that there has been ex-

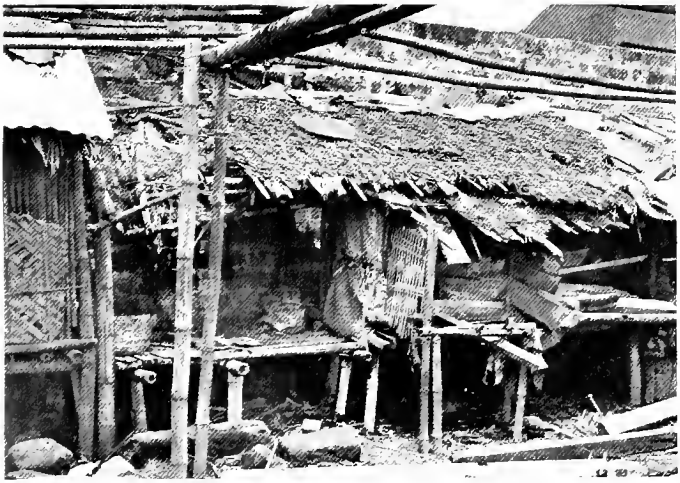
aggeration, the following excerpts are made from the 1902 report of Major L. M. Maus, deputy surgeon-general, U. S. A., who was detailed as the first Commissioner of Public Health of the Philippines.[1] He then estimated that there were ten thousand nipa houses in Manila. As matter of fact, there were fifteen thousand, or about three fifths of all the dwellings in the city, as is still the case.

"The surface," he goes on to say, "occupied by the nipa houses (in Manila) is, as a rule, unprovided with proper drainage, as a result of which during heavy rains the accumulation of filth and garbage is floated out into the streets and deposited over the district. . . . From reports received of 2,000 nipa houses recently inspected, only 11 were provided with cans for the collection of garbage, and but 5 were provided with water-closet arrangements. As each of these so-called dwellings affords shelter for from 8 to 12 persons, it is impossible that sanitary regulations can be successfully enforced at present. . . . Manila derived its water supply from four different sources. . . . The main supply of the city is obtained from the Mariquina River. . . . Before reaching the pumping station . . . the river flows through a thickly populated valley containing the towns of San Mateo, Montalban, and Mari-

[1] Annual Report War Department, 1902, vol. X, pp. 328–330.



THE MANILA OF 1898. COMMON SCENE IN NATIVE QUARTER.



THE MANILA OF 1898. NIPA HOUSES OF POORER CLASS.

quina, the combined population of which is estimated at 13,000. The people living along the stream above the pumping station use the river water freely for domestic purposes. They not only bathe in the river themselves, but allow their domestic animals to do so. During the rainy season the filth along the entire valley (a stretch of more than a score of miles, thickly populated), and from these towns especially, is washed into the river. . . . Dr. Calvert, of the army, made a number of bacteriological examinations of water taken from the river above and below Mariquina and other towns in the valley, and found as many as 613,703 bacteria to the cubic centimeter when the water was filled with people bathing, and with animals, while during a quiescent state he found from 6,000 to 15,000 colonies to the cubic centimeter. This is in striking contrast to the water supply of Boston, which contains about 73 bacteria to the cubic centimeter, and the Croton water supply of New York, with from 50 to 75. . . . A few (of the wells of the city) are kept clean, but the majority are dirty, and the water is usually polluted. These wells are generally located in the back yards, in the vicinity of the stable and cesspool."

Of the disposal of night soil, Major Maus, upon the page last referred to (330), says:

"Some of the best houses in Manila were

provided with a seat in the second story, on the outside of the house, and the deposit allowed to drop in the yard below, where it was finally scraped up and carried away. The depositos or stone vaults so commonly found in Manila, as well as in all Spanish cities, are relics of the middle and barbarous ages, and in many of them collections of fecal matter, undisturbed for years, were found to exist at the time of the American occupation. . . . The stone walls of these vaults are permeated with fecal matter, and as a result a permanent odor of night soil can be detected in many of the finest residences of the city."

The superintendent of one of the chief branches of health work in Manila, writing at the same time, says [1] that among the best classes of houses in the city, after the stone vaults above described, the "most common style of closet is one built directly over the waterways and bay of Manila. . . . In nearly every case of closets situated over or emptying into waterways, I find that the point of emptying is above low-water mark, and when the tide is out, the deposits are left high and dry, throwing off an unbearable odor, and being exposed to the action of flies and other insects for from eight to twelve hours daily. There is not sufficient current,

[1] Annual Report War Department, 1902, vol. X, p. 371.

in fact, in the *esteros* of the city (canals, thirty-one miles of which are in city limits) to carry this deposit away bodily, but it is gradually dissolved and mingles with the water itself, making a putrid, disease-breeding, open sewer of every waterway in the city. . . . In the nipa districts (containing three fifths of all the residences in the city) there are but a few closets of any description, the nearest approach to the same being a tiny bamboo house built up about six feet from the ground, the excrement being deposited on the top of the ground itself, and the collectors of same being the hogs and poultry of the district. . . . In the outlying districts of the city, there is no attempt whatever made towards closets of any description, but the people use the open lots in the vicinity of the houses for all purposes of that character."

In Manila, where have always been the best schools in the Archipelago, only forty-nine per cent of all the Tagalogs ten years of age or over could read and write any language. And it is necessary to know that when the Census listed these forty-nine per cent as literate, the most of them could only read and write something in their native tongue.[1]

[1] The fact must be impressed that literacy among the people of the Philippines meant the ability to read and write in any language — English, Spanish, or a Malay tongue. Since in all

The full meaning of this may be learned from the investigations of competent scholars, notable among whom are Tavera, Retana, and Medina, who have prepared exhaustive catalogues of Philippine literature. I have examined each of the 2850 titles appearing in Tavera's "Biblioteca Filipina." Among them I have found 161 volumes (only one edition counted in any of my calculations) published prior to 1898 in the Tagalog tongue. Of this number ninety-one, or more than half, were purely religious in character, such as catechisms, devotional books, novenas, and lives and deeds of the various Catholic saints or other religious personages.

Of the remaining seventy works, fifty were in verse. Of these last Tavera terms one of no importance, and one as the most important poem yet produced by a Tagalog; the rest, forty-eight in number, are doggerel relations of some of the local tales, fables, and traditions.

This leaves but twenty works to which resort could be had for books of true educational value; and these, so far as I have determined, were composed of the following: two grammars, each Tagalog-Spanish — one of the date of 1610

probability less than ten per cent of the people of the Islands could speak Spanish or English, the fact is unquestionable that the majority of the people reported as literate could read and write only the native tongues. Census P. I., vol. II, p. 78.

and the other of 1884 — and one manual of conversation in the two tongues. As opposed to these were eleven books and probably more which would provide means by which Spaniards could acquire Tagalog, but being in Spanish and written for the purpose indicated, they were of little practical value to a Tagalog desiring to learn Spanish.

This leaves but seventeen works unaccounted for. These comprehend a book upon cock fighting, rules and methods of training the birds, a single arithmetic, one novel published in 1885 by a Spanish monk, which, with two novels by Rizal, a Tagalog more than half Chinese, the famous work called *Noli me tangere*, and its continuation, *El filibusterismo*, are the only works of prose fiction in the dialect that Tavera appears ever to have found bound. There was one volume on good manners, one drama, and two comedies, neither of literary value. There was one life of Rizal, the martyr, one book by a Spanish missionary describing his impressions of the tribe, published in 1610, four volumes of rules for planting various agricultural products, and a humorous letter twenty-three pages in length by Rizal, and a study of ten pages relating to Tagalog orthography, by the same author — and no more![1]

[1] "There is no literature in dialect; the few odd compositions in Tagalog still extant are wanting in the first principles of literary style." John Foreman, "The Philippine Islands," p. 193. (*Cont.*)

Such appears to have been, substantially at least, if not exactly, the extent and nature of Tagalog literature as listed by as great a scholar as the Filipinos have produced.[1]

There were apparently but five public libraries among the Tagalogs, and according to the best authority all together possessed a total of five books in that tongue. There were one hundred and seventy other volumes, of which five were in German and the balance in Spanish. This afforded one volume in Tagalog dialect to every three hundred thousand Taga-

(*Cont.*) "No real text-books existed in any of the Philippine dialects; only catechisms, forms of prayer, fairy tales, almanacs, alleged grammars of the dialects prepared by early friars, who were plainly not philologians, were the things constituting the so-called Tagalog literature, Bisayan literature, etc. . . . There is, in short, no literature worthy being described by that term in any of the dialects." Le Roy, "Philippine Life in Town and Country," pp. 216, 217.

[1] An examination of Retana's catalogue seems to indicate substantial accord with my examination of Tavera's work. Edward Gaylord Bourne, of Yale University, a scholar of national reputation, says of his study of Retana's list:

". . . We have the singular result that the Islands contained relatively more people who could read and less reading matter of any but purely religious interest, than any other community in the world. . . . The first example of secular prose fiction I have noted in his (Retana's) lists is Friar Bustamente's (1885) pastoral novel depicting the quiet charms of country life. . . . His collection did not contain, so far as I noticed, a single secular historical narrative in Tagal or anything in natural science." Blair and Robertson, "The Philippine Islands," vol. I, Historical Introduction, pp. 80 and 82. F. C.

logs, and one volume of any sort to every eight thousand of them.

It is probably safe to say that but five hundred thirty-five thousand of all the inhabitants of the Archipelago ten years or more of age could read and write Spanish, which number equals seven per cent of the total population as found by the Census.[1]

In view of all the foregoing, it will probably be generous to say of the Tagalogs in Manila that not more than twenty-five per cent of those ten and more years of age could read and write Spanish, the only tongue in which there was anything of consequence to read; and as for the reading matter actually open to this small proportion, it is to be noted that the Manila newspapers, then seven in number — all in Spanish — and all bound volumes permitted to be printed or imported employing that tongue, were so censored as effectually to conceal or pervert all knowledge not welcomed by the political and the ecclesiastical authorities, — and that excluded about everything that was most worth while.

The statement made in the Census taken by us in 1903 in respect to the Spanish tongue in the Islands is to the point:

"How serious was this neglect (of the teach-

[1] "Special Report on the Philippines," W. H. Taft, Secretary of War (1908), at p. 27.

ing of Spanish to the natives) can be realized only when we consider that Spanish was the language of the official class and the sole one having an educational literature within the reach of the people. Therefore, the tribes speaking the different dialects had practically no literature and no educational facilities. In short, literacy in any of the dialects is not incompatible with total ignorance on all subjects derived from books. Hence, as shown by the Census, withholding instruction in Spanish from the Filipinos kept the great mass of them in ignorance, as the number who had received secondary instruction [1] was but 1.6 per cent of the civilized population, and of the female population but seven tenths of one per cent had received a secondary education. These were able to read, write, and speak Spanish and comprised what may be called the educated class." [2]

Now while it is impossible to say just how many of the Manila Tagalogs were literate in Spanish, it is known that only nine per cent of all the inhabitants of that city, including twenty-one thousand Chinese, forty-three hun-

[1] Secondary instruction, in the Census, is any which succeeds the earliest nine years of school work. The Census designates this later study as Superior Education, and the term is adopted and employed hereinafter with that meaning.

[2] Census P. I., vol. I, p. 41.

MANILA. MILK VENDORS, OLD STYLE.

dred Americans, and two thousand Spaniards, of ten or more years of age, had attended school for more than nine years.[1]

To them scant attention need be directed. They were the cultured people of the city, who, with others of their kind elsewhere, were always referred to by themselves and other natives as the *gente illustrada* (pronounced hontay illustrardar).

They did not greatly concern the Philippine problem except as they demonstrated what they became at the end of three centuries under Spanish oppression and with the help of Spanish and Chinese and every other kind of blood that ever came to the port of Manila. These nine per cent were the equal of the Spaniard in practically everything. Indeed, many of them were more Spaniard than Tagalog. These nine per cent could then take care of themselves. Sixteen thousand strong, they thought they could take good care of the other ninety-one per cent in Manila, and, if assisted by the similar class in other localities, they were quite as certain that they were capable of controlling the rest of the inhabitants of the Philippines, a balance numbering some seven million.

The moment the traveler went out of Manila, the Tagalogs became less cultivated in appearance. They exhibited more of their brown bodies and their literacy decreased, except in

[1] Census P. I., vol. II, p. 83.

the adjoining province of Cavite, which contained a population similar to that in the capital city. In the exception named, the literacy was ten per cent better than in Manila, but the percentage of those more than ten years of age with Superior Education was nine times less; that is, in Manila that percentage was nine, while in Cavite it was but one and one tenth; and considering the tribe altogether, with Manila omitted, it was one and four sevenths. Taking the tribe as a whole, the figure was two and five tenths.[1] That is, of every hundred Tagalogs to be met with in 1898 who were ten or more years of age, two and five tenths only had a better education than that possessed by our fourteen-year-old boys and girls in the United States.

Except for the some ten per cent, which is surely a very generous allowance, who composed the well-to-do, cultivated, educated, refined class — the *gente illustrada*, as we shall hereafter designate them — the Tagalogs, as members of the tribe, must be considered as having the following characteristics:

[1] Census P. I., vol. II, p. 83. This figure is arrived at by averaging the percentage of those with Superior Education in the provinces occupied by the Tagalogs: *i.e.* Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Rizal, Manila City, Cavite, La Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas. This omits Marinduque Island, which would make the percentage still lower. Also, for exact numbers, *vide* Census, vol. II, p. 753.

They had never read a book of broad educational value, or a newspaper. They lived in substantially the unsanitary surroundings and manner which have been described with especial reference to Manila, except that in the country or smaller towns the nipa shacks were not so crowded together, but rested in a vegetable plot or amongst the banana palms.

It was the custom for a father or mother to sell their daughters as mistresses. If and when a girl ceased to be attractive to a white man, who paid her by the month, and she returned to her home, she was more eagerly sought for in marriage than before, because the natives regarded her success with the alien as indisputable evidence of exceptional charms.

They commonly believed in all the wild spirits that have from time immemorial been credited by the uneducated men of all lands. Of Nono, the spirit of the aged, permission was requested to enter a strange forest, otherwise the traveler would be destroyed before he could turn homeward. If a person became ill with no apparent cause, it was due to Nono's displeasure. Tigbalan was an evil spirit, which resided now in one animal, now in another, one day in a pig, the next in the stray carabao which halted before the shack the day a baby died there. Asuan was prone to wandering about in the shape of a pig, which killed the

child of the mother who had just completed her labor. Patianac was a strange phantom never seen, but known to be the soul of an unbaptized child who died and ever after must wander about the great forests, chirping like a bird. Lumalabas was the soul of the dead appearing in horrible forms that frequently drove people insane; and sight of it, of course, was the cause of all insanity. Mangcuculan could cause the death of an enemy, and nobody would approach a man or woman said to contain him. Iqui could fly only at night, leaving half of his body, from the waist to the feet, in his home. This terrible demon sat on the roof of the homes of the sick and ran his tongue, that was no larger than a fine thread, into the victim's bowels, and ate the liver.

The Tagalog wore charms on the chest and on the back and believed that after he said the rosary he could not be harmed. While attending the Catholic church, he had no profound belief in it. If there had been any other church in town with better music and more mysticism, he would surely have deserted the friars for the other. He considered that he had nothing to do with any government except to feel its oppression. That he could have any responsibility in seeing law and order triumphant would never have occurred to him. The Tagalogs were altogether improvident. They

worked only long enough to be sure of the next meal. They would sit for hours at a time and gaze at nothing. They were fatalists by nature, which made them fanatics in battle, as all Malays. When anything happened, no matter how serious it might be, the Tagalog never bewailed, but just said it was the will of fate and went about his affairs as if nothing at all had occurred. When angry, he was prone to lose utterly his self-control and destroy everything that was in his reach, animate or inanimate. Incomprehensible inconsistencies were to be found in almost every native. He was extremely affectionate to his family in certain respects, yet when his house was afire, he paused only to save his fighting cock, leaving his household to look out for its own safety. He would steal from his best friend; he was a most cruel tyrant when given power over his own and other peoples, and was wantonly cruel to animals. He was stoical and silent, yet could not retain a secret. Extraneous agencies, the looks of a thing, were the most powerful influences in his life, rather than any innate desire or principle. He was utterly impractical, with no idea of the power of combination or of concerted effort. He had no more of the logical faculty than was required to entitle him to be classed as a rational being. It was altogether beyond his capacity to determine by his own

processes of mind whether a proposal were right or wrong. It was only one or the other, because somebody whom he considered to be of a superior class told him so.

Tagalogs had done no more in the arts than had the American Indians. They had a marked faculty for the memorizing of music, but no capacity at all for the creation of original compositions. As a rule they played only by ear. Endowed with prodigious memory, they could often recite word for word the contents of an entire volume relating to the lives of the Saints, and yet be totally unable to answer a question in a manner that showed that they comprehended one of the ideas that they had just repeated. They did not know what it was to pity; and if treated with a voluntary concession of justice or generosity, they regarded the act only as an indication of weakness, and usually despised the doer for that reason.

They had great reverence for the aged. Their hospitality was unbounded, so prodigal, in fact, that natives visiting a town had no need of hotels, but relied upon friends or relatives who put them up indefinitely, supplying the guests with the best at hand. There was no counterpart among the young of the American or Continental hoodlum, and universally the children were exceedingly well-behaved and

respectful. Among their own people, the Tagalogs were genial and sociable. They were habitually light-hearted, and remarkably patient under hard masters. The prevailing vice was gaming, and with the utmost nonchalance they would risk everything they possessed upon the turn of a single card or the outcome of some cockfight. To a fallen foe they were cruel, and mutilation of a foreign enemy living or dead was the prevailing rule. As for the truth, they seemed to have almost no sense that would indicate it to them. If found at fault, even in a most trivial matter, they would almost never confess, but at once begin to weave the most unconscionable fabrications to hide their delinquency; and when pushed by questions that tended to weaken their explanations, they threw all caution to the winds and told falsehood after falsehood until the hearer was positively bewildered. Indeed, they would commonly lie for no reason whatever, unless because they admired their faculty to deceive or mislead; and when detected in deliberate prevarication, they felt no moral guilt; their only mental attitude then was one of chagrin that they had not proven better liars, and if punished for lying alone they simply could not understand any reason for their suffering. No child was taught the principle that truth was valuable, or ever to be told for its own sake;

the only rule was to tell what the hearer wanted most to hear.[1]

When talked with, they seldom did any reasoning. They asserted that they did a certain thing, but could not tell why they did it; and it was plain that they had never considered that question. Everything was accepted uncomplainingly, with never a thought that it could be averted, improved, or mitigated. A native Tagalog seldom employed "Why?"—about the first and most incessant word with the youngest American children; and in originality, in resourcefulness, in independence, in progressiveness, in shrewdness, in the power to invent, the desire to hunt causes and effects, the power of deduction, the mind of the Anglo-Saxon boy of five is immeasurably more advanced than was the brain of the average Tagalog man of mature age. Speaking of the latter as a class, he had none of these faculties in action.

With a forked stick or root for a plow, the Tagalog would wade about up to his knees in his rice paddy by the hour, perfectly contented. When the harvest came, the women would go down into the same mud and with rude sickles cut the crop and thresh it with their bare feet.

A glance about one of the small steamers

[1] See Census P. I., vol. I, pp. 499 *et seq.*, for various high authorities upon most of my statements of Tagalog characteristics. F. C.

CULTIVATING RICE NEAR MANILA.

that plied around Manila would have shown to the quick intelligence the degree of civilization which the bulk of the Tagalogs had attained. The following account which I wrote in the early days seems still to tell the tale with careful accuracy.[1]

"Many, in fact the majority, of passengers, sat on the deck, usually on their heels, in the Oriental fashion. Most of the women were smoking. Others were chewing betel nut with irregular teeth that were already reddened or blackened with the habit. Poor teeth were almost universal.

"The odors aboard would have sickened a person of weak stomach; and had I not fought the tendency as hard as I could, I should surely have succumbed. When the boat had started, I pushed as far forward as possible and thus obtained some relief. There was an incessant jabber. The females dressed about alike. Within six feet of me stood a woman of about the average size, five feet tall, weighing perhaps one hundred pounds. She wore silver earrings of rude manufacture. A cigarette hung to her under lip. She wore a red skirt with narrow white stripes every half inch or so. Her bare feet were in wooden-bottomed sandals. At times her foot would withdraw until only the tips of the toes would be sheltered. Often she would stand on the left foot with the right resting against the left calf. Wide flaring gauze

[1] Frederick Chamberlin, "Around the World in Ninety Days," pp. 133-137. (Boston, C. M. Clark Pub. Co.)

fluffed up about the shoulders. The neck was bared to the tops of the breasts, but never so low as to show even the beginning of their curves. The arms were naked except for the gauze, which was so loose that the arm could be plainly seen for its whole length. The profile closely approached that of a chimpanzee. The head was flat, the nose snubby, the jaws protrusive, the chin retrograding. As she looked over into the water her lips moved continuously as if she were singing to herself. One small, inexpensive ring, set with a blue and white stone, was worn on the third finger of her left hand. She also had suspended from the neck, by a dirty cord, and resting on her chest, a brass charm about two inches by four inches, showing in bas-relief a devil dispatching an evil spirit, demonstrating that no harm could come to the possessor of the relic. Probably half of the women aboard were similarly equipped.

"One of the men at the wheel asked a woman who was amusing a baby on the deck beside him for a light, upon which she removed the cigarette from her charming mouth with its red teeth, and accommodated the gentleman, meantime seizing the occasion to spit on the deck. The baby had on only one garment, a shirt that by no possibility could have reached below his waist, and which, because of creasing, was never below his armpits. His mother wore a red shawl twisted about her forehead, and when the baby had procured his lunch, she deposited him on the deck and then turned her attention to performing an operation upon

the head of a neighbor who, too, squatted upon the hard deck. Little animals in cages display similar solicitude for one another. The search was conducted with many a sharp 'click' that demonstrated progress.

"Hanging from the deck above were a number of freshly caught fish which some of the passengers had purchased at the market. These slimy things brushed my face more than once.

"The score or so of game-cocks aboard, each of which a native gentleman carried under one arm, did not improve matters at all, as may well be imagined.

"Often peddlers would move about, and then many would purchase eggs, corn on the cob, which was at once gnawed off, corn-balls, mangoes, bananas, and cakes of a slimy, chocolate colored, glucose-like concoction that I would not have tasted for the whole ship.

"Finally 'Biñan' was shouted and the captain pointed to the shore and nodded as I looked at him inquiringly.

"Half a dozen rude boats — dug-outs and two thatched-roofed affairs about five feet wide — bumped into us with the usual excitement, everybody cursing and yelling at once. I clambered down into one of the latter style. Bent quite double, for the roof was so low I could not sit erect, and in the terrific heat, which was surely ninety something and it was just noon, and in the midst of half a score of native women, children, and men, over some of whom I stumbled, with their garlic, game-cocks, smoking cigarettes, fish, and ill-smelling bundles of remarkable purchases in the city, I was a

good deal disturbed, for the effect of all these things on my nerves made me doubt if I could long endure this filth and stench without becoming ill."

It should be repeated that one must not be misled by any pictures of apparently intelligent, well-dressed Tagalogs, such as were to be found in say ten families on the average in every town of as many thousand population. These ten families were on one side; on the other were the ignorant mass who had always been subject to the former.[1]

In 1898, roads worthy of such a designation connected the various communities of the Taga-

[1] Dr. David P. Barrows, general superintendent of education and at one time head of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes said: "If you go into a town of ten or twelve thousand people you will meet perhaps with a dozen, and generally less, families who represent the dominant social element there, who are cultivated, who have received some Spanish education, who have wealth, social position, and who are commonly represented as being the type of the Filipino people. They are a type, but they are only one type. . . . My observation, speaking about the historical condition, is that they are directly descended, or at least their social prestige is a direct inheritance, from the conditions which the Spaniards found there three hundred years ago. . . . The rest are a population who have no education, who have no wealth, and who are controlled economically and socially by the upper class, or, as it is called, the *gente illustrada* — the illustrious class. . . . This upper class is very ambitious. That is one of its first qualities, I think, that strikes one. They are keenly ambitious — ambitious for education, ambitious for participation in the political affairs of the islands." Census P. I., vol. I, p. 510.

logs only in the dry months of the winter. In the rainy season, from May first to October first, about two thirds of an inch of rain fell *per diem;* when it came down, it dropped a cloudful at a time, and such roads as there were became but a succession of impassable gullies and holes. It was common to have an entire interruption of traffic for months at a time between villages but ten miles apart.

There was but one line of railroad in all the Archipelago. It extended for one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Manila to Dagupan, on the west coast, a narrow gauge affair with crude traffic equipment constructed in the early nineties, at the expense of Spain. But the journey was apt to be uncertain in the wet season, and usually consumed eight hours.

Silver was the basis of the money system, and certainly nothing worse could have been devised, as it worked out in this far-away community. It required several hours to deposit fifty thousand dollars, the money being carried through the streets in sacks like meal, on the heads of almost naked coolies. Wild fluctuations in the value of coins were common, and even when silver bullion was going down all over the world, Spain was coining it for the Filipinos, far below the intrinsic value the coin was stated to represent; and in 1898 the peso, the silver dollar, was quoted in the world mar-

kets as of the value of forty-one cents gold. No merchant could reckon closely a day, or even an hour, in advance. He would engage goods for delivery on three months, only to find that exchange had so gone up that he would be obliged to pay for that item alone enough to offset his expected profit.

There was hardly a record in the entire tribe of the Tagalogs that could serve as the basis for a sound title to real estate. The attitude of each purported owner in possession was that he had the property and was going to keep it until it was taken away from him; and if through illness, or through bad management or some other misfortune a native became indebted to one of the *gente illustrada*, the debtor's honor compelled him to offer his services to the creditor until the obligation was liquidated. In many instances, a man spent his whole life in the slavery of an unscrupulous and better educated native, to pay no more than a few dollars. That is the device that is called peonage in other lands. In the Philippines it is *caciquism*, an institution that exerted a far greater effect upon its victim, who felt obliged to obey any command of the master, no matter what its nature might be.

To this condition must be ascribed many of the terrible crimes committed by natives in the turbulent days from 1896 to 1900. When

told by the man to whom the debt bound them to bury certain others alive, it was done, and it never occurred to those who obeyed the order that they were not justified. Many were chopped to pieces and many throats were cut by these means; but even when there was no money consideration upon which to found a relationship sufficient to insure the carrying out of such dastardly work, it was common enough for commissions of this character to be executed by a native merely because the man commanding it was an official, or wealthy, or educated. Until our occupation, a large proportion of the natives would do anything from throat-cutting to paying money that any member of the *gente illustrada* would demand.

Such were the million and a half Tagalogs in 1898. Such are they to-day, except as little more than a decade may have affected them. Such were their racial characteristics; and the Tagalogs were by far the most advanced of all the inhabitants of the Archipelago.

Within twenty miles to the northeast of Manila were people of the mountain forests, or Bukidnons, as the native dialect classes them, utter savages, pagans. They numbered fifty-six thousand, made up of many small tribes. A large percentage lived in tree tops. They were more primitive than any race we have ever had upon this continent, with the

possible exception of the Mound-builders. They did not comprehend the Tagalog or Spanish tongues, and were absolutely illiterate.

Thirty miles from Manila and adjoining the latter savages were the Negritos, the original people of the Islands, wanderers, pigmies less than five feet in height, round-headed, nude, wild men with undeveloped jaw. They could not speak Tagalog or Spanish and were of the lowest type of people, as far as we know, living on the earth. There were twenty-five thousand of them, all of whom were illiterate.

Beginning thirty miles northwest of Manila and extending sixty miles to the north in a solid block twenty miles wide from that shore of Manila Bay, were two hundred and eighty thousand Pampangans with a dialect of their own, living in all general aspects just as the neighboring Tagalogs, but more illiterate, with the same or similar superstitions, the same unsanitary surroundings, the same general characteristics. Twenty-six per cent of all over ten years of age could be classed as literate. One and five tenths per cent of all ten years of age and more had Superior Education; and I find in Tavera's "Biblioteca" eleven books in this language — a dictionary, 1732, two manuals of conversation (Spanish-Pampango, 1875 and 1882), seven religious works, and one work upon patience as a virtue.

NEGRITO.

MOROS OF MINDANAO.

On the north of these last was a block of Ilocanos, classed among the civilized people, occupying the same amount of territory as the Pampangans. Except for the intervention of the Pangasinans, who bisected them with a strip five or ten miles wide, the Ilocanos extended clear up the western coast and usually less than ten miles inland, to the northernmost point of Luzon. In all they numbered eight hundred and four thousand and were distinctly below the Tagalogs in development. But twenty per cent were at all literate, and but two per cent had Superior Education. They did not understand Tagalog, and had a number of dialects incomprehensible to others of their tribe. Tavera learned of but five books in their tongue—one dictionary, 1873, Ilocano-Spanish; two religious works, a comedy, and a volume upon manners.[1] There were, however, five Spanish works for learning Ilocano.

Three hundred and forty-three thousand Pangasinans, also classed as civilized, occupied a section upon the western coast beginning about a hundred miles in air line above Manila, and extending inland some score of miles. They were, in the main, on a par with the Pampangans, the two agreeing in literacy and in Superior Education, but with a distinctive tongue. I find seven books in their language—one dic-

[1] Tavera, "Biblioteca Filipina."

tionary, Pangasinan-Spanish (1865), and the others all religious.[1]

Occupying the entire central part of northern Luzon were the wild Igorots, the people of the marvelous rice terraces and the habit of head-hunting. Their worship was the most primitive, and they lacked any means of written communication, even wanting that of signs or symbols, such as the American Cave-dwellers possessed. There were two hundred and eleven thousand of them, with a language all their own.

To the east of these lay one hundred and sixty thousand Cagayans, classed as civilized, who were much like the Ilocanos, only less literate, and only six tenths of one per cent of all ten years of age and over had Superior Education. Their language was incomprehensible to a Tagalog and to most of their immediate neighbors.

Last of all above Manila, beginning twenty miles or so to the north, on the western coast, were the Zambalens, who ran along the shore, usually not more than ten miles inland, for seventy miles or so, forty-eight thousand in number, called civilized. These were comparable to the Ilocanos, a little below them in literacy and the Superior Educated, one and nine tenths per cent representing the latter class. They, too, had their own language, in

[1] Tavera, "Biblioteca Filipina."

which I find but one book, and that of a religious type.[1]

The Bicols occupied the entire southern hundred and fifty miles of the island. They numbered five hundred and sixty-six thousand and were but little different from the other civilized tribes in general characteristics. Owing to the presence of a number of the Tagalogs among the Bicols, the latter had a literacy of twenty-three per cent of those of ten or more years of age, although the percentage of those having Superior Education was but one and six tenths per cent. Except where the Tagalogs and the Bicols were occupants of the same locality, they could not understand one another, and indeed there were so many dialects in the Bicol country as to make it seem as if the people were divided into an equal number of foreign races. They appear to have had twenty-seven volumes in the vernacular — twenty-two religious, four vocabularies, etc., in Bicol-Spanish (in 1870, 1882, and two in 1896), and one volume upon good manners.[2]

Luzon, then, which comprises slightly more than one third of the area of the Archipelago, and, with 3,745,000 people, nearly one half of all its inhabitants, contained 2,600,000 of ten years and over among so-called Christianized

[1] Tavera, "Biblioteca Filipina."
[2] *Ibid.*

tribes, of whom two million could not read and write a word of any language, no matter how limited or crude it might be. In other words, nearly eighty per cent of the natives of ten and over in Luzon, excluding a fourth of a million of absolute savages, could not read and write a word of any language in 1898; and of the twenty per cent who could read and write, not more than seven per cent could read and write any language in which there was anything to read—that is, in which there were any books of general information or newspapers; and still further, of even greater importance, of this twenty per cent but fifty-five thousand, or two per cent, had better education than the equivalent of that provided by the first nine years of American school life. Fully one half of the island was occupied by primitive wild men.

This is the problem as it came to us in Luzon, the most highly cultivated of all the Archipelago.

There were three peoples, one may say, in all the islands to the south of Luzon: the Visayans, who were classed as civilized, the largest tribe in the Philippines, with 3,219,000 souls, more than twice the population of the Tagalogs; and four hundred and twenty-five thousand wild men and Moros, some of the latter civilized, but a large number savage. The Visayans occupied a narrow strip on southern Mindoro, all of Masbate, all but a tenth of

Samar, all of Leyte, of Bohol, and of Cebú, the entire coast of Panay, and, on its northern and eastern sides, about half the coast line of Mindanao. All the remainder of these islands was occupied by Moros and by utter savages of the most primitive and irreconcilable character. That is, of all the large islands south of Luzon, five sixths of Mindoro, a third of Panay, three fourths of Negros, nine tenths of Mindanao, and all of Paragua were occupied altogether by Moros and savages, few of the latter approaching in stamina and solidity the American Indian. In area, the Moros and these savages took up more than ninety per cent of everything south of Luzon.

The Visayans were in all broad lines the same in instincts, in character, in nature as the other civilized tribes already considered. They were, however, more illiterate, only some fourteen per cent of all of ten years and more being able to read and write, while the Superior Educated class comprised less than one per cent. In their tongue Tavera discovered nineteen volumes — sixteen religious, a medical aid of sixty-six pages, a dictionary (1852), and a grammar (1876), both Visayan-Spanish. But there were eleven similar works by which a Spaniard could acquire Visayan.

This completes the Archipelago. The total population classed as civilized, of ten and more

years of age, numbered 4,973,000. Only a million of these, or twenty per cent,[1] could read and write in any language, including the native dialects, in which, it is repeated, there was practically no reading matter of educational worth. Of all civilized persons in the Archipelago who were ten and more years of age (4,973,000), five hundred and thirty-five thousand, or but little over ten per cent, — only seven per cent of the entire population, — could read and write Spanish, in which alone there was available printed literature to give general information; and only seventy-six thousand persons had more than nine years of schooling, they constituting one and six tenths per cent of the Christian population of ten or more years of age, and but one per cent of the total population found for census purposes.

That is, as one went through all the Philippines at the time we took them, but a single person in every hundred met with had been in school for over nine years.[2]

Tavera's catalogue, so far as I have been able to determine, records but 237 volumes in all the dialects together: 149 (144 have already been cited) strictly of a religious character; sixteen only which would make it possible for a native to acquire Spanish (the Ibanogs

[1] Census P. I., vol. II, p. 78.
[2] *Ibid.*

and Bogobos each had one volume of this character, in addition to those possessed by the large tribes, fourteen of which works have heretofore been cited); and seventy-two of a miscellaneous class, sixty-seven of which were in Tagalog, — fifty of the sixty-seven were in verse, all but two mere doggerel, — the remaining five of the seventy-two miscellaneous works being a medical help, a book upon patience, two upon good manners, and a comedy.

So far as I have learned from Tavera's work this, in substance certainly, if not exactly, was the literature of three hundred years open to the more than ninety per cent of the Filipinos who were not literate in Spanish.

This affords one book in Filipino dialect to about every forty-two hundred members of the Christian tribes ten or more years of age who could read and write in any tongue; and but one volume for every 33,500 of the total population.

Nipa huts constituted ninety-four per cent of the houses in all the Archipelago, the better type having two or more rooms, with an inclosed stable beneath the flooring. Except for these latter, relatively small in number, the huts were as already pictured, as was usually the life of those who existed in them.

The Tagalogs, in what is known as the Cavite Rising of 1872, were the first to lead

an important revolt against Spain. It was suppressed in a most barbarous manner by thousands of executions and wholesale banishments. Those crimes were never forgiven nor forgotten, and the temporal power turned to the friars for aid to insure safety from the hatred that followed. The friars, satisfied by the opportunities thus presented to increase their wealth and power, undertook the main part of the task of breaking down the spirit of revolt. By 1896 the people had formed in almost every town among the Tagálogs what they called the Katipunan, or league. The friars termed it Freemasonry; and when the Archbishop of Manila was informed that the members would not confess with regard to its aims and acts, he decreed that all vows that could not be confessed were anti-Christian, and the friars were commanded to make complaint to the local magistrates of all who were members of this society. The friars seized the occasion as one by which they could rid themselves of anybody they pleased; and hundreds of fathers were taken with no warning or justification from their families, and with no trial or even arraignment or hearing of any kind, deported to African penal settlements belonging to Spain, or to other islands filled with savages. Many of them died on the way. The Manila prisons were overflowing with them. Many of these

unfortunates were so cruelly maimed by their jailers as never again to be able to earn a livelihood. Some actually perished under torture. Seventy of them were suffocated in the ancient Fort Santiago, right in the city itself. More than forty-three hundred[1] were at one time waiting trial by court-martial. Accused persons came from other ports in shiploads, bound hand and foot, confined in the hot, stifling holds; and when they arrived at Manila, freight cranes were turned over the hatches, hooks were let down into the darkness between decks and attached to the prisoners one by one, who were then hauled high in the air, swung out over the wharf, and dropped down exactly like so many bales of hemp.

The wealthiest men in Manila were incarcerated. Nobody with money could hope to escape. No demon could be hated or feared as was the friar. But he took no backward course, only grew more and more relentless. Rizal wrote in the Spanish tongue his *Noli me tangere* [Touch me not], which exposed the inner life of these oppressive priests. It was the match that produced the explosion, for when the Spanish officials, although they did all they could to save him, yielded to the demands of the church and had him shot on the Luneta in Manila, they sealed the doom of Spanish domin-

[1] Foreman, "The Philippine Islands," p. 377.

ion in the Islands. "Death to the Friars" was the oriflamme. Aguinaldo, with a peculiar talent for promoting organization, and reputed to possess *anting-anting*, a mystic power that would refract a bullet or a knife, sprang to the fore, and in less than a year had the Spaniards suing for peace. In December, 1897, he and thirty-four of his leaders agreed in a written contract with the Spanish authorities in consideration of eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, of which two hundred thousand dollars was paid him in cash advance, to leave the Islands, not to return until Spain consented. Aguinaldo was to receive two hundred thousand dollars more, but Spain defaulted the amount, together with all the rest of the balance, and no one of the thirty-five retiring patriots except Aguinaldo appears to have received a dollar. He got all there was. It is maintained by his friends that he expended part of this money in purchasing arms for his second revolution.

In this rebellion atrocities altogether foreign to civilized people were common. One friar was cut up in small pieces, the operation all carefully arranged so that his life would last as long as possible. Another was saturated with oil and set aflame. Another was bathed in oil and fried over a slow fire on a bamboo spit that was run through him in such a manner as not to be fatal of itself. A requiem Mass

celebrated this last. About sixteen miles from Manila, the natives caught a Spanish lieutenant and murdered him. They then seized his widow and eleven-year-old daughter. The latter they ravished to death, and were burying the former alive when, a raving maniac, she was rescued.

But before Aguinaldo had been gone six months, and although their old leaders had been bought off as described, the natives were again in the field; then Dewey sailed into Manila Bay — and we were in the Philippines.

CHAPTER II

WE BEGIN

Our international obligations — President McKinley sends the Schurman Commission to study the Islands — Schurman Commission reports natives incompetent for self-government and that anarchy would follow their ascension to power — The Taft Commission makes a similar finding — Particulars of our governmental system — Extraordinary powers given the local government by American Congress — Remarkable number of natives in their government in 1903.

UNDER the law of nations as accepted by all civilized peoples, the surrender of Manila to our forces made it incumbent upon us to provide for the security of persons and property found therein.[1] The obligation that had been Spain's passed to us. Germany had five war-

[1] Sec. III. of The Hague Second Convention, on Military Authority over Hostile Territory. "Art. XLII. Territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army."

"Art. XLIII. The authority of the legitimate power having actually passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all steps in his power to reëstablish and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety."

ships in Manila harbor to see that we performed this duty. France had several of hers there, and so had England, for the same purpose; and others watched our every movement — until Dewey was reënforced, and then they moved away.

"A hostile territory, subdued by the armies of the United States, does not pass under the dominion either of its constitution or its laws. . . . While war continues, it is the military duty of the President as commander-in-chief, to provide for the security of persons and property, and for the administration of justice."[1]

Such was the duty of President McKinley while the Spanish War continued, and when that ended with the cession to us of all the Archipelago, it became the measure of his obligation toward all the peoples therein; and such it continued to be during the struggle with Aguinaldo which followed immediately and endured for more than two years, until the summer of 1901.

To the performance of this delicate task Mr. McKinley proceeded with that caution which was so prominent a characteristic of his nature. There was a remarkable dearth of reliable literature upon these islands so unceremoniously deposited in our keeping, and before we had come into formal possession of

[1] Taylor, "International Public Law," Section 579.

them, the President had dispatched across the Pacific to study the situation what is known as the Schurman Commission. Its members were the President of Cornell University, Jacob G. Schurman, an authority upon such problems, Rear-admiral Dewey, Major-general Otis, both of whom had been months on the ground, Charles Denby, our Minister to China for the preceding thirteen years, and Professor Dean C. Worcester of Ann Arbor, an ornithological expert, who had twice headed important expeditions to study among these very people. They assembled in Manila in March, 1899. They invited testimony from every source and reported in January of the following year with the following:

"Their (the Filipinos') lack of education and political experience, combined with their racial and linguistic diversities, disqualify them, in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the archipelago at the present time. . . . Should our power, by any fatality, be withdrawn, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers, and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable."

A month after this conclusion was in his hands, McKinley, still acting under the war powers of this nation, appointed a second commission, endowing it, a civilian agency, with the powers of a military government. This Commission was headed by the senior circuit judge of the country, W. H. Taft, who was selected as the best available man for the position; Bernard Moses, of the Chair of History and Political Economy of the University of California, Professor Worcester, Luke E. Wright, a distinguished lawyer, and the Chief Justice of Samoa, Henry C. Ide, were the remaining members. They were, as was the first Commission, of the different political parties. Even in the heat of national campaigns in which the Philippines have been an important issue, it has never been suggested that we could have sent stronger men. After some months in the Islands, they reported as follows, in a résumé:

"Manila, August 21, 1900.

"Secretary of War,
"Washington, D.C.

"Replying to dispatch, Commission reports: It has for two months and a half made diligent inquiries into conditions prevailing. Change of policy by turning islands over to a coterie of Tagalog politicians will blight their fair prospects of enormous improvement, drive out capital, make life and property — secular and

religious — most insecure, banish by fear of cruel proscription considerable body of conservative Filipinos who have aided Americans in well-founded belief that their people are not now fit for self-government, and reintroduce the same oppression and corruption which existed in all provinces under Malolos government during the eight months of their control. The result will be factional strife between jealous leaders, chaos, and anarchy, and will require and justify active intervention of our government or some other." [1]

There seemed no escape from the unanimity of judgment of these two able commissions, and the President accepted them as conclusive; and in his "Instructions of the President to the Philippine Commission," dated April 7, 1900, Mr. McKinley said:

"The articles of capitulation of the city of Manila on the 13th of August, 1898, concluded with these words: 'This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments, and its private property of all descriptions are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army.' I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the government of the United States to give protection for life and property, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm, and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philip-

[1] 1900, Report Secretary of War, pp. 80–82.

pine Islands. I charge this Commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labor all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States. . . .

"You (the Secretary of War) will instruct the Commission to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent to which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the working of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order, and loyalty. . . .

"In all forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, nor for the oppression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands." [1]

The Secretary of War, Root, in his annual report for 1901 interpreted these instructions as directing the Commission:

[1] 1900, Report Secretary of War, p. 72.

"To steadily press forward as rapidly as it can be done safely and thoroughly, the gradual substitution of government through civil agents for government through military agents, so that the administration of the military officer shall be continually narrowed, and that of the civil officer continually enlarged, until the time comes when the army can, without imperiling the peace and order of the country, be relegated to the same relation toward government which it occupies in the United States."

Those were the specific, binding instructions upon our representatives, and it is submitted that they are unexampled in the history of colonization. Their spirit is further emphasized by an address of Mr. McKinley, not long before his assassination, at San Francisco, where he said:

"These Philippine Islands are ours, not to subjugate, but to emancipate; not to rule in the power of might, but to take to those distant people the principles of liberty, of freedom of conscience, and of opportunity that are enjoyed by the people of the United States."

Manila was immediately established as the seat of government as represented by the Taft Commission, and the task of setting up a civil administration throughout the Islands was undertaken with all dispatch. The legislative powers were conferred upon this Commission, the judicial powers were exercised by the courts

created by the Commission in its legislative capacity, and the executive authority was left in the commander of the military forces of the United States still occupying the country.

The scope of the legislative authority resident in the Commission was defined in the instructions as follows:

"Exercise of this legislative authority will include the making of rules and orders, having the effect of law, for the raising of revenues by taxes, customs, and duties, and imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of public funds of the islands; the establishment of an educational system throughout the islands; the establishment of a system to secure an efficient civil service; the organization and establishment of courts; the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments; and all other matters of a civil nature for which the military governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative character."

The sessions of the Commission when acting as a legislature were often open and at stated periods. Their enactments were publicly introduced and published as bills upon which action was proposed. If the matter was of public interest, hearings were announced and the natives urged to express their views. Often, whenever the general weal seemed to demand it, these measures were publicly debated and voted upon.

By June, 1901, public order having been established to a sufficient degree, authority to exercise the executive powers was transferred from the military to the president of the Commission; continuing, however, the former's jurisdiction in such parts of the Islands as were still overrun by the remnants of the insurrection. July 4, 1901, Mr. Taft was inaugurated first civil governor of the Philippines, and two months later he created departments of the interior, of commerce, of police, of finance and justice, and of public instruction, distributing these among the other members of the Commission. At the same time, three learned natives were added to the body, constituting five Americans and three Filipinos.

Appropriate legislation was enacted for a thorough organization of the entire Archipelago into provinces (counties we should call them) containing municipalities. A modern judicial system was predicated.

An insular constabulary and municipal police were created, the commissioned officers Americans, but all the men natives. A civil service law was early put into operation, covering practically all except the very highest appointments. Government finances were guarded by a modern system of account and audit. A comprehensive system of education for the entire Archipelago was instituted, and teachers

were hurried from America by the hundreds. Forestry laws were adopted and an extensive system of public works entered upon. Revenues for governmental purposes were provided for in duties and taxes, the imposition of which was not opposed.

Municipalities were made the political unit, and each town that was not in the wild tribe country was provided with a charter. Under this document the rule of the municipality devolves upon a president, a vice-president, and a municipal council, all chosen by the qualified electorate therein resident, to serve for two years and until their successors qualified. The electorate is composed of males above the age of twenty-three who have a legal residence there for six months last preceding the date of the election, who are not subjects of a foreign power, and who have one of the following three qualifications: 1. Had filled one of several designated petty offices during the Spanish régime (thus showing some degree of learning or stability); 2. Owned real property to the value of two hundred and fifty dollars (gold) or who annually paid taxes to the aggregate value of fifteen dollars (gold); 3. Could speak, read, and write English or Spanish.

Of these municipalities there were at first 1035 with as many presidents, 2906 secretaries and treasurers, and 8159 members of the town councils.

All of the foregoing were by 1904 chosen by the electorate just defined, and each was a Filipino. Then these thousand municipalities were divided among thirty-four provinces containing all of the people in the Islands except the wild men and the Moros, while these were comprehended in five districts and a Moro province. The organization of the thirty-four provinces is as follows: Their government consists of five officers — governor, treasurer, secretary, supervisor, and a fiscal or prosecuting attorney. The governing body, called the provincial board, is composed of the governor, the treasurer, and the supervisor. The first duty of this board is to collect the taxes from the various municipalities in that province. Its second function and the one that proves to be the most important, is the supervision of construction of highways, public buildings, and bridges. Its third duty is a supervision of the officials of the municipalities.

The governor (provincial) has the power to suspend any municipal officer who appears to be delinquent, and he has to visit at least twice a year the various municipalities to hear any complaints against the local officials. He was in 1904 elected biennially, by a convention composed of the members of the various town councils in the province. The only restriction upon their choice was that he be confirmed by the Commission.

Upon the first Monday in February, 1904, an election was held in all but two of the thirty-four provinces, and all except one of the governors so chosen were natives. The remaining provincial officials who had any real authority were 86 Americans and 238 Filipinos.

The Moro Province consists of Mindanao and adjacent islands, except the provinces of Surigao and Misamis, which are rated as comprised within the Christian provinces, and also the island of Isabela de Basilan and everything to the south of Mindanao. The province is cut up into five districts, the executive head of all being a governor, with a secretary, an attorney, an engineer, a superintendent of schools, and a treasurer. These officials constitute the legislative council of the province.

There remains but the five district provinces, viz: Benguet, Lepanto-Bontoc, Mindoro, Nueva Viscaya, and Paragua, inhabited largely by wild men. Here it is necessary to appoint all the officials.

Great attention was devoted to the founding of a sound and capable judicial system throughout the Archipelago. A complete code of procedure, equal to any in the United States, was enacted by the Commission, which removed at one stroke all the delays and uncertain perplexities of the Spanish tribunals. Codes of criminal and civil law were also instituted that

wiped out the ancient abuses by which private individuals could control and compromise criminal prosecutions, and thus extort blackmail. Any authority of the executive branch to control the action of the courts, a right that had always obtained in the Islands with the Spaniards, was rigorously forbidden. A justice and an auxiliary justice of the peace was appointed in each municipality, while municipal courts were instituted in Manila. The Archipelago was divided into fifteen judicial districts, in each of which there was a court of the first instance, with one judge assigned thereto, except that in Manila, because of congestion of business, there were four judges and as many courts. There were extra judges to preside in emergency. As early as 1904, a third of all the judges were natives. There was direct appeal to the Supreme Court of the Islands, a body composed of seven members, three of whom were natives. Appeal from this could be had directly to the Supreme Court of the United States in all matters in which the Constitution or the privileges or the rights of the United States were involved, or in cases in which the amount in controversy exceeded twenty-five thousand dollars or in which the title to or possession of real estate above twenty-five thousand dollars was involved.

We set up a court of customs appeals, con-

sisting of the secretary of finance and justice, who presides, a judge of the Supreme Court, and a third member appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the Commission.

We set up a court of land registration composed of two judges with jurisdiction throughout the entire Islands. It was also a court of record. Registrars of deeds were appointed in each province and for Manila. From them and from the court of land registration, appeals could be made to the local court of first instance, and from these last to the Supreme Court of the Islands and then to that at Washington.

There was appointed an attorney-general, with assistants, and a solicitor-general with such duties as are performed by these officials in the United States. The former was an American, the latter a Filipino. Half the assistants were natives, half Americans.

The local prosecuting officials, corresponding to our district attorneys, attached to the government of the thirty-four provinces, were all natives.

Civil service was attended to at the very outset. Promotion or entrance to any clerical position in the Islands was based solely upon competitive examinations, except that preference was given, first to natives and then to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines of the United States.

In order that the institution of this drastic measure might not work inextricable confusion and hardship among the officers and enlisted men who had been detailed for these very duties, it was provided that they could continue in such positions when mustered out upon passing special tests of fitness. The civil service board could also continue in office the existing civil employees if they were competent to pass the examinations. In this manner the incompetents were debarred, and only those of character and fitness permitted to remain.

In the provincial and municipal governments, where a knowledge of English was not essential, the Filipinos had little difficulty in filling practically every position.

As an incentive to encourage Americans to enter this Oriental service, examinations for it were opened throughout the United States under the United States Civil Service Commission, and it was provided early in 1903 by an act of Congress that officers or employees who had served in a competitive position in the Philippine civil service for three or more years could by application be transferred to similar positions in the United States. Thus was provision early made for recuperation of all who might go out there and find the climate too onerous. It yet remains for the United States to adopt so general a civil service law as that

which obtains in these island possessions, where from the very first there has never been a suggestion of any spoils system. England only adopted civil service after her representatives had instituted it in India and seen its advantages. For the workings of a complete system, we shall have to adopt the law of the Philippines.

As a final aid to the Islands, their government was authorized to exercise several powers of sovereignty which had hitherto never been conferred upon any of our States or territories or other possessions. For example, Congress conveyed to the Philippine government all the public property of the Archipelago which we acquired from Spain, including public buildings, streets, parks, roads, the submerged soil of the coast, the beds of streams, the mineral wealth, the immense tropical forests filled with precious timber as valuable as any. Congress also authorized the Philippine government to issue its own currency. It was authorized to direct and control its own postal service. It was allowed to levy tariffs upon goods entering island ports consigned from American ports, and this in time of peace.

Before we had been at work with a civil government quite two years, we were able to make the following showing of our intention to put the Filipinos into their own governmental

machine just as rapidly as they proved fit for the task:

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF FILIPINOS AND AMERICANS EMPLOYED UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS IN 1903

	AMERICANS	FILIPINOS
Members of the Philippine Commission	5	3
Justices of the Supreme Court	4	3
Judges of the court of first instance	16	7
Judges of the court of customs appeals	1	1
Judges of the court of land registration	1	1
Justices of the peace and auxiliary justices of the peace		1,708
Civil service of the general government	1,777	2,697
Governors of provinces	8	32
Other provincial officials	86	238
Municipal presidents (mayors)		982
Municipal councilors		8,159
Municipal secretaries-treasurers		2,906
Total	1,898	16,737
Municipal school-teachers		3,500
English teachers	1,000	
Total	1,000	3,500
Municipal police		10,000
Philippines constabulary	345	7,000
Total	345	17,000

This table does not include the Philippine Scouts, which were a part of the military establishment of the United States, the commissioned officers of which were Americans, and the non-

commissioned officers and other enlisted force, of which five thousand were Filipinos; nor does it include the large number of unskilled employees of the Philippine government, all of whom were Filipinos, employed in such places as the street-cleaning department of the city of Manila, the work of the Benguet road, the office of the insular purchasing agent, the board of health, etc.

That is, there were 40,480 employees of the Philippine government, — 37,237 natives and 3243 Americans.

The United States Congress examined each of the statutes and enactments of the Philippine Commission by which the governmental machine here described was set in motion, and confirmed them all; and, by special act passed in 1902, promised the Filipinos that two years after the completion of a general census, they should have an election by which to choose delegates to a popular assembly conformable to our lower house of Congress.

By the time Mr. Taft was ready to leave the Islands, in January, 1904, we had completed the installation of a stable, considerate, representative government.

CHAPTER III

THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE

General Otis opens schools eighteen days after our occupation begins — Profound effect of this upon natives — Teaching of English a reversal of Spain's policy — A thousand teachers come from America — Why English was made only medium of education — Sacrifices and services of early American instructors — Statistics of educational transformation — The native teacher — Each pupil given manual training — Filipinos yet desirous of only primary education — Lack of funds — Remarkable influence of introduction of athletic sports.

We have already seen that the schools in the Islands during the Spanish régime were of little practical value, and that it was a deliberate policy of the friars to use such as were there in a manner to deter the acquisition of real education rather than to promote it.

Within two weeks of the capitulation of Manila to our military forces, General Otis personally had selected and ordered modern text-books as the first step in opening schools in the Islands. Eighteen days after Manila fell, seven schools were opened there under

the direction of one of our army chaplains, although it was months before we knew the Philippines were to be transferred to us.

These acts had much effect upon the natives, who were wondering what sort of people we were. Non-commissioned officers of the army were assigned as school-teachers, and the teaching of English especially advanced. This produced a profound sensation. Word of it spread with great rapidity, for it portended a revolution, if the Americans were to retain the Islands. It meant that the great mass of the common people were to be taught the language of their rulers, a complete overturn of anything the Filipinos had ever known. That would enable the mass of the tribes, in time, to read newspapers and books and laws. It would enable them to learn everything that the ruling class had acquired; and as the natives believed that the rich had become so by superior knowledge, the Filipino seemed almost at the gates of the Promised Land.

The Spanish attitude toward this innovation was typical of that of some other nations which had Far Eastern colonies. General Otis was informed that an attempt to introduce universal education was not only sure to end in armed uprisings, but was bound to fail, for the natives would refuse to attend schools that were not under the charge of the clergy.

But we went ahead just the same, and we continued to go ahead, even more rapidly when Aguinaldo attacked us in February, 1899. Two months after that event, we had an army officer, a Yale graduate, as superintendent of the Manila schools, of which there were then thirty-nine in active operation. He knew his work thoroughly, and it took but little time to see that the people, instead of refusing to send their children to secular schools, greatly preferred them; thus, although we were in the very hottest of the insurrection, our army had about a thousand schools crowded with pupils long before the civil government took over the army's task in June, 1901. By the first of the preceding September, General Otis had expended more than twice as much for text-books and supplies as Spain spent for all school charges of every nature during some entire years just preceding 1898 in all the Islands outside of Manila.

In the late summer of 1900, Fred. W. Atkinson, one of the most renowned educational experts in the United States, landed in the Islands with the appointment of general superintendent of public instruction, with no directions except to secure progress. An organizer of the first class, he had the Commission pass an organic act upon January 21, 1901, that laid a broad foundation for a thoroughly modern

system of schooling in every corner of the Archipelago. The responsibilities resting upon the superintendent were very grave. He was given *carte blanche* as to when and where he would establish schools. He could appoint all assistants, all teachers, prescribe their duties, the curricula they should teach, and fix their salaries within certain broad limitations. In a word, the task was unique, for it was to establish a complete system of public instruction among more than seven million people who never up to that time had had any system at all. It was a great opportunity, and the last decade has shown that the right man was chosen to do the work.

One of the first big things done was to send to the United States for a thousand teachers, who had to meet a high standard of requirement. In 1901 they came over in small numbers up to August, when six hundred arrived in one transport. In twenty days they were on their way to their new work, and from that time English became the only medium of instruction. For this regulation, which has been warmly criticized, there were several reasons, all of which are now so buttressed by later events that probably nobody is to be found who would have it altered. First, English, more than any other language, is that of commerce in the Far East, and its use is becoming more

general with each day. That it is bound to be the universal tongue of that part of the world cannot longer be disputed. To those who have felt that Spanish should have been continued, the response is that there was no Spanish that could cause serious consideration, among the mass of people, as we have already set forth. Then it was evident that it would be a number of years before we could permit these people to try to govern themselves, which meant that English was for a long time to be the language of the official world of the Islands, both written and oral, hence the language by which official employment and favor could be procured. The Islands as a whole not only had no tongue, but, what was worse, had many entirely different dialects. It was necessary therefore that they should have some common language if they ever were to become a homogeneous people; and in view of the facts just presented, English was the best language for them, and the eagerness with which they seized the opportunity to acquire it is further evidence of the wisdom and correctness of this position.

The sacrifices incurred by very many of these pioneer teachers were tremendous. That more did not meet a violent end is matter of wonderment. But they came to give and not to take, and that was their chief shield. As a rule, the Spanish schoolhouse was not a schoolhouse at

all; it was the home of the teacher, who taught in one of his rooms. Frequently there were no seats or benches or other furniture. If there was a real schoolhouse, it was usually a miserable shack of bamboo and nipa, generally without a floor and with vile surroundings, if it had been in use. Our teachers went to work and built schoolhouses, often with their own hands, made the benches, and taught the most remarkable conglomeration of pupils for months at a time without books, slates, or maps. Some established their schools under spreading trees. The friars were inimical, and against the invader all the influence of the church was bent, until in many localities natives would not send their children to the new school-teacher. Then it was the task, perhaps, of a slip of an American girl — the only white face in miles among thousands of Malays — to go from house to house and by her personal force overcome this prejudice. Instances were common in which the male teacher joined the local peasants in ridding the district of ladrones, the native term for gentlemen-of-the-road. He often ended the oppression of the wealthy by a sharp American demand for justice. He urged the repair of the roads, and, in a word, in all except matters of religion, he enlarged in every community in which he was set down, if he were worthy of the responsibility, into the pre-

dominating place formerly filled by the Spanish friar. He easily became the most important local force in furthering an understanding of our civilization.

What manual labor these teachers did — and they did it in good measure — probably excited more comment than any other act. The Spaniard, and often the American, regards manual labor as a mark of degradation, as a sure evidence that the man has not the qualities to earn more with his head than with his hands. The natives took their cue from their rulers, whom they believed to be a superior race of beings; and no Spanish official or any other Spaniard, if he could avoid it, ever did any manual labor where he could be seen by a native. So far had the principle become fastened into the national life of these ignorant peoples, that they believed anything that would soil their linen or entail perspiration or rapid movement was unworthy of civilized beings. As a result, the Filipino boys and girls grew up without the mental and bodily stimulus of emulation by any sort of games. The most violent exercise of all their youthful days was to march solemnly in slow-moving religious processions or to walk about taking the evening air.

The natives argued in their simple way, which was not really argument at all, but imi-

tation, that the Spaniard was a superior being who never did manual labor. Then, if a native was to hope to become a superior being, he must not do manual labor.

But here suddenly came in a new race which was plainly superior to the Spaniard, for the American had whipped him, and these ultra-superior visitors, the new rulers, worked with their hands, dug in the garden, just like the common laborer. They had games that made them perspire until their clothing was rumpled and they were wet to the skin.

More than this, these Americans taught equality, for they practiced it. In the Spanish schools the poor often received little or none of the attention of the instructor, because that personage received especial favors or pay from rich parents. The cultivated man among the Filipinos frequently has the greatest contempt for those who are condemned to the ignorance from which he has escaped. He will make the most flowery speeches about the advancement of his countrymen, but when approached upon the wisdom of attempting their enlightenment, he is often found to be an active opponent of such a revolutionary proposal. The reason is not far to seek. It has already been stated. One superintendent of all the schools in the Islands has written over his signature that: "In the majority of murders committed during the

ception, decidedly so, be it recollected; and we may not pay too high praise to the American teachers as a class, both men and women.

To consider the result more in detail, we find that there were probably not exceeding 750 schoolhouses in the Archipelago when we went there. Except in the largest towns, they were of the rude character just described. Our policy now is to build schoolhouses of reënforced concrete only, that are far superior to the usual rural schoolhouse in the United States. More than two hundred and fifty of them are completed or in process of building, and they are rapidly replacing the three thousand other less permanent buildings which we have put up in the last ten years.

In 1898 there were nineteen hundred teachers, under Spain. There are now five times as many, 9086 to be exact. In 1898 there was one teacher to each four thousand people. There is now one to each 844. There were less than two thousand so-called schools under Spain. There are now forty-six hundred that are real schools with real teachers and a real educational curriculum. Under Spain there was a total enrollment of two hundred and fifty thousand pupils. In 1911 it had risen to six hundred and ten thousand. Spain spent various sums of money for school expenses, sometimes as low as sixty-two thousand dollars in one year early in

the decade preceding our coming, and as high as two hundred thousand dollars in another at a later period. Probably the average founded upon these two picked at random is about correct. If this be so, we may say that just prior to our occupation Spain was accustomed to spend annually upon the schools of the Islands one hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

Last year there was devoted to this purpose by the Insular Government itself more than thirteen times as much; and more than ten times as much was spent by the local governments; and the continuance of this record appears to be assured. The exact figures for 1911 were $1,765,958 by the central government and $1,362,873 by the various local administrations, or $3,128,831 in all, nearly twenty-five times what we know Spain to have been spending for similar purpose.

In accordance with our announced policy of gradually replacing Americans in the service with natives, the American school-teachers are now but 683, so that we have withdrawn nearly one third of the highest number ever at work there, which was 926 in May, 1902. Their salaries range from two thousand dollars to six hundred dollars, averaging slightly in excess of eleven hundred dollars. The native instructors average about two hundred dollars per annum.

The encouragement by every reasonable means to add to the number of native teachers has been a governmental policy, especially because it was realized that the best persons in the world to civilize or instruct the natives were their own kind.

It was therefore from the outset a rule of the American teachers to give one hour daily to teaching Filipino instructors in English and in modern methods of school direction. It was always held before the native teachers that promotion, with better salaries, was entirely dependent upon their efficiency; and this made them eager to progress and attract favorable attention from their superiors. They have all along been coming from better and better families, until now probably no young woman native of the Islands, no matter how much money her parents possess or how much Spanish blood runs through her veins, would consider the teaching service beneath her dignity. Their influence in the community is largely enhanced by their knowledge of English, and American ways of doing things. It is they who are sought out by visiting officials for intelligent representation of local conditions. It is they who act as interpreters in the courts and for the presidents. They have taken on a new dignity and are rising rapidly to meet its requirements and responsibilities.

What are known in the United States as teachers' institutes, providing courses for teachers during the long vacation, which in the Islands extends from the middle of March to the middle of June, were established from the beginning. Practically all of the native teachers, now more than eight thousand, attend lectures which are given by the best instructors obtainable, and which are fully equal to those we have in the United States. These bodies usually meet in their respective provincial capitals.

But it is to the Philippine Normal School, at Manila, the successor of the Insular Normal School which we organized with the rest of our system in the early days, that the Filipinos of both sexes look for the teachers' training; and here are taught in the most approved methods those branches that the native most needs. About a hundred needy students who have already taught two years in the Islands are supported at public expense in return for later services equivalent to the term of their scholarships. Each of them in addition to his normal and academic subjects is taught some branch of manual training. Every boy and girl in every primary school in the Philippines spends a considerable proportion of each day in manual work. He puts in this time upon the manufacture of some article of real value, either for use in his own home or for sale. There are no

halfway accomplishments tolerated. The work must be done well or the pupil is not relieved from the task. There are gardens beside the schoolhouse, and there a boy may raise vegetables either for sale or for his home. Indoors he may make a hat, or a school desk. The girl may make a piece of lace, or may embroider a handkerchief, which she can do as well as any other little woman in all the world, and which will find its way into the lace markets of the Continent or the United States. In hand weaving, last year, two hundred and forty-two thousand pupils were engaged. In loom weaving of mats, cloths, etc., there were 2178. In gardening there were one hundred and two thousand. In the making of garments by sewing, in lace work, in embroidery, etc., there were sixty-eight thousand. In iron and wood work there were 770. One hundred and thirty-six thousand were engaged in the making of pottery, in the study of raising poultry, and in other useful work for which the student could secure money. There were eight large school farms, on which more than seven hundred students gave their time to farming by the most modern and enlightened methods. There were six trade schools, furnishing the best instruction to 850 advanced pupils in drawing, in woodwork, ironwork, and the repair thereof. There was a modern college of agriculture at Los Baños, near Manila. There

was a school of commerce with a four-year course that never was able to graduate a pupil, because all became competent, before the course was completed, to secure good positions that would pay so well that they could not resist the temptation to accept them.

But undoubtedly one of the greatest boons has been the teaching of housekeeping and household arts to the native girls in all higher primary and all intermediate grades. Here each student learns house sanitation, plain cooking, and simple sewing, and at once becomes in all the neighborhood of her little home an oracle and a revolutionary force of the first magnitude. Every barefooted woman in the barrio, as little hamlets are called, who has no representative of her own family to receive these lessons, ambles around to sit on her heels in the shack of the neighbor whose daughter has that opportunity, and watches the introduction of each new idea that the American "schoolmarm" has imparted. These ideas become the gossip of the entire community, and a spirit of emulation stirs the sluggish blood in every housewife.

I have seen the same results in the Feud Country in the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky. The return to her native home of one little girl, who had been at school down in the Blue Grass Country a year or so, left its

marked impress in every house in that portion of the mountains. Rugs began to appear on bare floors. Flowers sprang up beside every door. Toilet conveniences, while crude, still showed great advance. Bared feet became covered, and the woman who used to smoke a corncob threw it away. She tidied up her dress with each evening. The tablecloth came in, and the chickens were fed outside, instead of waiting beneath the dining table as formerly. All of these indications you may see to-day in the Philippines from one end to the other.

The night schools were opened in Manila in September, 1900, and their immediate crowding suggested that here was an important way of reaching the people at large who could not attend the regular schools in the daytime. Within three months they had an enrollment of more than nineteen hundred. Clerks, merchants, newspaper reporters, janitors, laborers, and barbers — every kind of a wage-earner in the city — crowded the rooms, so that many had to be turned away. In another year a night school was opened in every town, with the rarest exception, in which there was an American teacher. Some of these taught higher arithmetic, geography, history, bookkeeping, stenography, typewriting, and telegraphy. In these advanced courses Filipinos are now being prepared for their civil service examination while

they are doing their regular work in the day schools.

In the provincial night schools, the learning of English has always been the principal object in view. Here one may see the poorest field laborer and the president of the barrio, and in several cases even the provincial governor. The average age of the night pupils throughout the Islands is approximately twenty-three years.

In 1903, 102 native students were brought to the United States to be educated here at the expense of the Filipino government. Since that date, forty-three has been the largest number sent on a similar mission, and last year there was but one. At no time in the last six years has the number exceeded eight. The scheme as at first conducted can hardly be considered an unqualified success, but with higher requirements in candidates it is expected that the plan may be made of great benefit. The governor-general may appoint with or without examination, and as a result those who first came were often unequal to what was expected of them. Upon their return it was at once evident that they had not secured much real education. In many instances they were shown too great favoritism in the institutions to which they were assigned, had as a matter of fact been promoted without having done the

PRESENT TYPE OF SMALLER CONCRETE SCHOOL HOUSE.

PRESENT TYPE OF LARGER CONCRETE SCHOOL HOUSE.

work that would justify it, and actually harmed our work in the Islands by what they had learned or thought they had learned of our institutions. The truth is, that trained only in the Spanish methods, they were never qualified to enter our colleges, although received with open arms by them. Later appointees, however, are reversing this record, and have in some instances won extraordinary marks.

Speaking of the Filipino native teachers as a whole, they have as yet only been able to teach in the primary and intermediate grades. Of the 9086 native teachers, but 492 were found competent in 1911 to teach students who had had more than seven years of schooling, — four years in primary and three in the intermediate. In 1910 just twenty-five per cent of the 9086 native teachers had themselves completed the primary and intermediate schools. In 1911 the figure increased to twenty-eight per cent, and it will probably be more favorable with each year to come, as the emulation for preferment is constantly increasing.

We must not construe, however, this relatively poor education of the Filipino native teacher as any reflection upon the only work in which he may be said to be engaged, for education in the Islands is yet in the primary school, as figures will demonstrate, viz.: there are now 4121 primary schools, with 582,115

pupils; 245 intermediate, with 24,974 pupils; and 38 high schools (entered after seven years of schooling), with but 3404 scholars.

In the primary school the aim is to teach the student to understand, read, and write simple English, to give him a sufficient knowledge of figures so that he can later protect himself in business, and to provide him with a small fund of information regarding geography, sanitation, hygiene, government, and standards of correct conduct. In addition, the pupil is taught sufficient manual training to enable him to be a better laborer than those who have not had this instruction. A perusal of the above figures will show that only one student in thirty pursues his education after completing the primary four years' course. Indeed, it is a further fact that the great majority of the primary scholars never complete their four years in that first schoolroom. The figures above also show that about one in every two hundred in the primary school will enter the high school. And it must be said that there is no present tendency observable that will indicate any material alteration in those proportions.[1]

Thus it is that we are endeavoring to give the Filipino in the first four years of his schooling those things that will best help him in after life, for that is going to be his sole educational equip-

[1] Eleventh Annual Report Director Education, p. 19.

ment for many years, unless there be a compulsory system equivalent to our own. Such a system could be made possible if there were funds sufficient. But there are not funds sufficient even for this little we are trying to do. Indeed, there is not nearly enough money adequately to pay the larger part of the native teachers, who are dependent upon the salaries of the municipality or province in which they are employed. Eight thousand of the total native teaching force of 9086 are in the pay of the local government as distinguished from that of the Insular Government. Their average remuneration is $9.25 gold per month. In three large provinces the average is less than six dollars per month. An increase of even $2.50 a month would add a quarter of a million to the expenses, and no such sum can be found. And in the face of this showing, it is to be noted that probably not one town in the Islands has adequate school buildings for its school population. In Union Province alone, in 1911, more than four thousand pupils were refused admittance to the primary schools because there was no room for them. So eager were they for work that those who did obtain entrance maintained an actual daily attendance of eighty-five per cent of the total enrollment — a very remarkable showing in any community.

The Islands can now, with such schools

as have been mentioned, offer to about a third of the children of school age eleven years in the public schools. From these, pupils may go to the University of the Philippines in Manila, under American professors, where there are courses in the Liberal Arts, Medicine and Surgery, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Law, Engineering, and the Fine Arts. There are now more than twelve hundred students in attendance.

A glance over the accomplishments of the decade in education, as stated by those most prominent in its direction, will be apt to give the introduction of athletics to the Filipino boys and girls the leading place among all our civilizing elements. The first game of baseball that the islanders ever saw was between teams of our soldiers in 1898. In the few years since that time, the sport has become ingrafted into the Filipino taste as firmly as in that of the American schoolboy. Many of the schoolhouses — probably five hundred — in the Islands have a baseball diamond beside them. And let no American suppose that the game has lost by its long journey nor think that we can teach them about its finer points. Take it all in all, they play with greater spirit than our boys, and they were especially jubilant in 1911 because their best team outplayed the best that the American schoolboys could present. The

increased self-respect and manliness shown by all who engage in these contests is very notable; and the hollow, narrow, thin, flat chest that was the mark of the more civilized Filipino boys is being replaced by the broader torso of the athlete. A hundred organized, uniformed, fully equipped baseball teams in a province is not unusual, and the provinces now compete against each other for the championship of the Islands. In the contest for this distinction in 1911, it took over twelve hundred games between 482 teams to decide the issue.

But it is not alone those directly on the field who are being influenced. The entire population has developed into fans and rooters, as the terms of the game call the enthusiasts; and no more lively audience than that which attends the important games in the Islands can be found upon the Polo Grounds in New York. The partisans are intense and implacable, and there is nothing remaining of what has come to be known as the Oriental reserve after the umpire has deprived the pitcher of a strike.

The language of the bleachers in New York and in Manila is quite the same, for the Filipino was given no epithets in his native tongues; and the first words he learned from us were ejaculations of that character, which he employs with astonishing fluency and unction.

General athletic associations with competi-

tive events such as sprints, jumps, pole vaults, and all the list of our own scholastic organizations are now established in many parts of the Islands, and they compete for the Island championship in Manila each winter.

The girls have taken up basket ball with so much enthusiasm that it is plain the sport is to be a feature in every school. In short, athletics have so crowded in, that educational departments have had to take charge of them just as in the United States, and contests are now conducted upon a uniform basis as to eligibility and rulcs. These regulations are issued in an athletic handbook from the office of the Director of Education.

If we go deep enough, we will undoubtedly find that the great eagerness displayed by the Filipinos for knowledge is due to their desire to make a living with their heads instead of their hands. They probably proceed upon the theory that the former is easier than the latter and therefore much to be preferred. Granted that this is their premise, it is not much different from the idea of the more cilivized peoples.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRIAR LANDS

One of the most important problems in the Islands — Friars so hated that all had to fly to Manila in 1898 — The Pope consents to their withdrawal — The Insular Government pays $7,227,000 gold — Impossibility of disposing of the lands because of agitation against capital.

As the Friar Lands have constituted one of the most acute problems that we have had to face in the Islands, we must give at least the outlines of it.

The main facts are that there were some 750 regular parishes in the Archipelago, all of which, except 150, were administered by Spanish monks of the Dominican, Augustinian, or Franciscan Orders. Natives could not secure admission to these Orders. The Augustinians were of two classes, the shod and the unshod, the latter being termed Recoletos. During the outburst of hatred against these priests in the turbulence of 1896–1898, they all fled to Manila, for their very lives. Forty were killed and more than four hundred were imprisoned, in

which state they continued until our arms became so irresistible that the natives could no longer retain their control of the jails in which these holy men were confined. With all of the minor priests, their total number was 1124 at the beginning of hostilities. Before we had captured Aguinaldo, in March, 1901, but 472 remained in the Islands, the balance having been killed, or having died, returned to Spain, or gone to China or to South America.

As soon as we had established authority in the former parishes of these 472 priests, a fierce discussion arose as to whether or not they should be permitted to return to their former stations. It was perfectly evident to our representatives that if they did go back many would be assassinated; and in the end, as their return could only be effected by us, we should become the unwilling heirs of that hatred of the priests. If the priests did not return to their parishes, they certainly would lose their immense properties, which constituted some of the best lands in the Islands, amounting in all to 403,713 acres.[1] These were in the main rented to thousands of people who refused to pay anything for them as soon as they drove

[1] The Franciscans were unable, because of their rules, to possess any property, and they therefore had no agricultural lands and no real estate except dwellings for members, two monasteries, and two infirmaries.

the friars into Manila. The Orders applied to our government to send an armed force to collect the rents or to eject the delinquent tenants. The United States of America have never done things in that fashion, and the Orders were told that they could obtain relief only through the courts, where they would stand just as any other party seeking their aid.

That intensified the situation, for by their rules the friars were forbidden to sue in a court of law. Under Spain, when they wanted things of this character done, all they had to do was to notify the governor-general, and he would send troops to obtain by force such redress as they had indicated.

The most cursory investigation shows that every abuse which finally led to the two revolutions of 1896 and 1898 was charged by the natives as a whole to the friars. If we had inflicted the same priests upon the people who had so recently driven them out, the natives at large would have been sure to conclude that a friar under the United States was just the same as a friar under Spain. All the information we could obtain was to the effect that the adoption of such a course would lead to a recurrence of the disorder that had led to their previous flight to the capital city. In effect, we should have another insurrection upon our hands.

Confronted with these conditions, we took up the subject with the Pope, who by agreement with us in December, 1899, sent the Archbishop of New Orleans as an apostolic delegate to the Islands to endeavor to effect an adjustment of the difficulties. He became, however, so warm an adherent to the friars' position as to nullify the hope that he could be of service as an arbitrator. He joined hands with Nozaleda, the Archbishop of Manila, and bitterly opposed the efforts of the native clergy to compel the expulsion of every friar. The controversy became so acute as to result in the imprisonment for two months of the chief clerical exponent of the native position, by the priests who opposed it, and nobody can say when he might have been released, had not his contentions been suddenly upheld by Rome, whose attitude throughout the whole proceeding was considerate and fair. Governor Taft, and in fact all of the Commission, early became convinced that the only way to get the friars out was to buy them out; and when he visited the United States, early in 1902, he had little difficulty in convincing Congress as to the wisdom of this course. The act of that body upon July 1, 1902, commonly called the "Philippine Government Act," authorized the necessary issue of bonds by the Insular Government with which to complete the transaction,

and also the sale of such tracts as were acquired, the proceeds to go to liquidating the bonds. Rome at once assented in writing to the proposition that the sale of such lands would allay public agitation against the friars, and announced the appointment of a new delegate, who proceeded to Manila with full powers. Governor Taft replied that he regretted the appointment of the new delegate, and proposed instead that the disputed questions be submitted to a tribunal of five, the odd member to be chosen by some high, disinterested party. Rome rejected this, and then Washington accepted the proposal of the new delegate, who proved to be a man of great culture, Monsignor Guidi. In six months' time he was in Manila, and in thirteen months he and the representatives of the United States had come to a complete understanding, which was embodied in written contract and soon carried out, by which we acquired the four hundred thousand acres of Friar Lands for $7,227,000 gold. Some three hundred of the friars have continued in the Islands, and many of them remain upon their urban property in and about Manila, which was not acquired by us; others have gone out into the country once more, where the intense feeling against them has abated sufficiently, a condition assisted by the dissemination of the knowledge that they were no longer of any

more force in governmental matters than the poorest native.

Thus ended our troubles with the friars, but thus began our annoyances with the Friar Lands, with which our newspapers have been agitated from time to time, ever since.

The total bonded indebtedness of the Philippine Government of to-day is $16,125,000. Of this, seven million dollars is for these Friar Lands. Could they be handled in a business-like fashion, it is very likely that they would meet the bonds. In fact they might have done so already. But it has been impossible to handle them in that manner. They are in demand for sugar lands, taken as a whole, but owing to politics, laws have been passed preventing any corporation from acquiring more than twenty-five hundred acres, and any individual over forty acres of public lands. When the Insular Government sought to market the Friar Lands, it found itself attacked by those who maintained that these properties were subject to the laws governing public lands; in other words, that not more than twenty-five hundred acres could be sold to a corporation or more than forty to an individual.

Now, no first-class sugar mill of economical dimensions can be maintained upon less than about ten thousand acres of cane, and while large sugar people would probably have taken

up all lands that were suitable and come close to liquidating their cost to the government, agitation in the United States has not only prevented such an introduction of new capital into the Islands, but has continued the debt and prevented sales of any magnitude at all, for Congress has failed to act in a decisive way that would end the talk about the illegality of any sales that might be made. A committee of Congress investigated the subject, differed over it, and as a necessary precaution the Secretary of War refrained from making any large sales. If the situation be not relieved, these lands will constitute a heavy drain upon the Insular Government.

The agitation which has been conducted by our countrymen, who believe that it is better for the natives to be saddled with this debt of seven million dollars than it is to pay it by selling the lands to the highest bidders, is upon the basis that thus the lands will be saved from the sugar trust and from exploitation, whatever that may mean. Such a contention is little less than silly in view of the facts. While the agitation has been going on for several years, with the effect of discouraging sales and prospective investors, the lands have been deteriorating, in large measure. Cogon grass has possessed thousands of acres, which depreciates the property notably; and sugar lands all over

the Islands have had a distinct tendency to reach a lower price. The view of the agitators is that if they can prevent the sale of these lands to the large investor, they will have achieved a great victory for the native, although the lands affected are but three tenths per cent of fully fifty million acres of totally unoccupied, unclaimed, cultivable public lands possessed by the Insular Government.

The position is simply this to-day: There are one hundred and seventy-one thousand acres of the Friar Lands entirely unoccupied. There are no small tenants or small purchasers to whom any considerable part of this enormous tract can be leased or sold. The original cost of it and the interest thereon can only be obtained from its sale, unless money be appropriated directly out of the treasury of the Islands when the bonds become due. The House Committee on Insular Affairs examined the law and decided that these lands could be sold in large tracts; but public agitation continued, and the Secretary of War dared not authorize the sales in large acreage until further confirmatory act by Congress. In the meantime, the interest on the bonds must be advanced from Insular funds, the land deteriorates, possible customers with the necessary capital have gone elsewhere, and no party except a corporation can purchase more than

forty acres of these lands; and as a corporation may not secure enough for its needs, and no individual or corporation has appeared as a purchaser or a tenant for any plot of forty acres or less, none can be sold or leased to anybody, especially not to those for whom we are said, with a great flourish, to be holding these lands in trust. And in the meantime these supposed *cestuis-que-trust* are being taxed for the carrying charges that the Manila government must pay for these lands that these very *cestuis* do not want.[1]

If they were applying for them, if they would show the least inclination to want them on any basis, that would be one thing. But to hold them for people who won't do that much, and charge these same people with the expense of holding them, is the height of folly — and worse. If the United States yield to the agitation that has sprung up in America and pass a law that the Friar Lands can be sold only in the limited amounts described, thus rendering their sale impossible, then, to be fair to these, our wards, for whom we say we are acting as trustees, Congress should reimburse the Philippines for what money the natives have to be taxed to pay for the expenses of carrying these

[1] For a general statement of this situation, *vide* 1911 Report Philippine Commission, p. 96.

lands that we have prevented them from selling.

A trustee ought not to be permitted to waste the estate of the ward, merely because the former has inflicted a deliberate loss upon him.

CHAPTER V

THE FIFTH LABOR OF HERCULES

The toll of death under Spain — The cholera epidemic of 1902–1903 — General anæmia due to parasites reaching system through infected water — How Manila has been made a sanitary city — Six hundred artesian wells the most potent control of contagious diseases — We enforce sanitary regulations — Universal vaccination compelled — We establish a leper colony — Free medicines and surgery — The rinderpest — High infant mortality in Manila — Schools for nurses — Sanitation taught in all public schools.

THE cleaning of the Augean stables was a slight undertaking in comparison with purifying the Philippines, as may be well comprehended from what we have already said about the execrable conditions in the metropolis of the Islands. The cholera and smallpox swept off the natives in Manila by thousands, and the further one went into the country the worse the conditions became. The details of daily life pertaining to the preservation of good health and decency, as observed among civilized people, were, except in rarest instances, entirely lack-

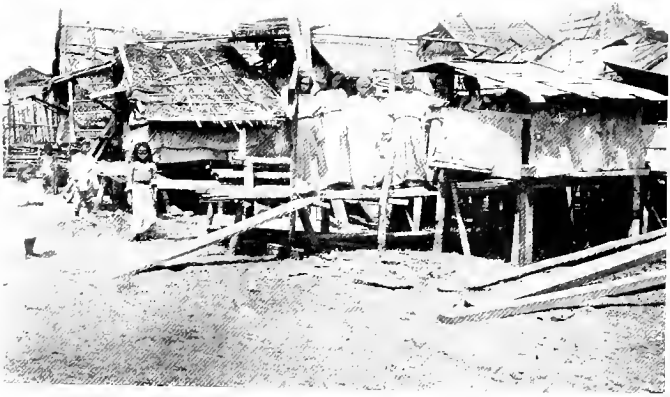
ing from one end of the Islands to the other. No imagination can make the Filipino customs with respect to these matters worse than the actuality.

Our army officers finally succeeded in protecting our men to such a degree that they were no more in danger than they would have been had they never crossed the Pacific. But when they tried to make the Filipino adopt sanitation as a principle of his life, the task became simply appalling. The only things that occur to me that the natives ever did that were sanitary were frequent bathing and the donning of clean white clothes, for which there is a common liking.

In Manila there had never been any attempt at sanitation so far as can be discovered, through any regulations. No wonder that about three fifths of all the children in Manila under one year of age were meeting death annually, at the time our civil government went into control!

In 1902–1903 the cholera took off more than one hundred thousand of one hundred sixty-five thousand inhabitants attacked. In Manila, eighty-two per cent of native cases perished, and about fifty per cent of Americans thus afflicted did not recover.

That awakened the medical officials as nothing else could have done, and sanitation be-



House in Farola District where Cholera first began in Manila.

Burning Cholera-Infected Houses in Farola District, Manila.

came the first object of government. It was early determined that the anæmic condition of the great bulk of the natives was largely due to the ravages of several intestinal parasites which sapped the vitality, drew out the best blood, and prepared the victim for almost every disease. It was next found that these parasites reached the system through infected water, which the natives drank as freely as the purer variety, if the former could be more easily procured.

In Manila, this part of the problem was attacked by installing a reliable water system, by building public sewers, and by rigid rules respecting the disposition of all refuse and the care of foods at all times. Then the thirty miles of canals within the city limits, choked with the pollution of a century, were dredged out, every stagnant pool was drained, the moat that ran about the ancient wall was filled in and made a park, and each native house was visited by careful inspectors, who saw that their regulations were observed. Hundreds of shacks were burned. No mercy was shown to the delinquent; and to-day Manila, except in the matter of infant mortality, is about as healthy a city as any of its size in the warmer part of America.

The problem of drinking water throughout the Islands has been solved by the artesian well. More than any other one agency, this modern

method of reaching good water has led to the control of contagious diseases. There are now six hundred of these wells, and their advent has almost invariably led to a marked decrease in the prevailing death rate — in some instances a reduction of as much as fifty per cent. It is proposed to bore one of these wells in every town in the Islands where other good water cannot be procured.

Under Spain there had been about forty thousand deaths per annum from smallpox. The death rate was at least fifty per one thousand for all diseases. There was practically no care for the insane, the common treatment being to hitch them with a chain to a stake. Of the some four thousand known lepers, all but two hundred of them wandered about wherever they pleased. A single grave was often employed a number of times, the latest occupant whose rent had not been met being thrown upon what the natives called a bone pile, in order to make room for the newcomer who had paid in advance. As there was no adequate quarantine in the Islands anywhere, the plague, cholera, and other tropical infectious diseases but little if any less in severity, were a constant menace.

We organized some thirty boards of health in the more important centers, and, backed by the law, started to enforce garbage collection,

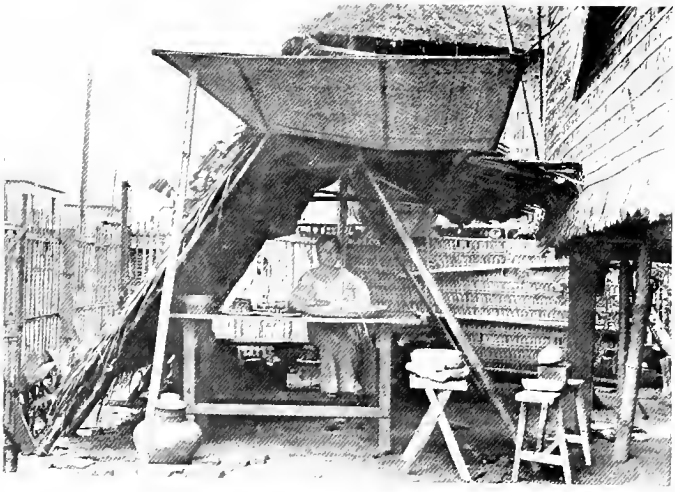
sewage disposal, street sweeping, universal vaccination, the proper disposition of fecal matter, the proper exposal for sale of foodstuffs, etc. — in short, practically all of the rules so familiar to Americans.

The universal vaccination was a tremendous task and one that met with great opposition. If the local officials were not converts to the work, it failed; and so many instances arose in which this was the case that at last a plan was adopted that sent squads of vaccinators, about twenty-five in each group, into a certain territory, there to remain until every native was vaccinated. Before this was done, records of the million people resident in and near Manila show that six thousand lost their lives annually from smallpox alone. After vaccination was completed in this territory, there was not one death in the subsequent year.

We built a modern hospital for the insane, and shall endeavor to add others until all of these unfortunates are assured of a good home. We took the lepers, as rapidly as we could collect them, to a separate island, Culion, there to test one of the most extensive segregation experiments yet conducted. There are now but very few lepers elsewhere in the Archipelago, and the study of the results of this treatment has made it evident that every leper must be sent to the colony.

In localities where the lepers were permitted to remain, some three hundred new cases were reported. Since all discovered cases were removed, but fifty new patients have appeared. In all the Islands, where some seven hundred and fifty new cases arose with each new year, the number in 1912 was three hundred. One of the relieving incidents of our treatment of these unfortunates is the discovery that the X-ray is an apparent cure, as well as the chaulmoogra oil. It is too early to feel positive as to the complete eradication, but it is settled to the point that all outward manifestations of the disease disappear when treated by either of these means.

The bone piles have been forbidden by law. Quinine is distributed free of any charge, a step that has a marked effect upon the prevalence of malaria. In prison sanitation very great advances have been made. The convict, under Spain, was frightfully treated when ill. In Manila, he was hustled into an old, unsanitary wooden building, crowded to suffocation, and the man who came away alive was an object of great surprise. To-day no plague exists in the Islands, despite the fact that they are surrounded by it. Free dispensaries, free medical service, free obstetrical aid for the poor, are to be had for the asking. Free surgical clinics for all applicants are in Manila. Packages of simple remedies for the most prevalent diseases



MANILA. TIENDA, (SHOP), BEFORE SANITARY REPAIRS.

MANILA. TIENDA AFTER SANITARY REPAIRS.

have gone to almost every municipality that had no other medical sources. Medicines are furnished without cost to anybody in the by-way places who can distribute them with discretion to the needy. A systematic attempt has been made to discover the whereabouts of unfortunates who are suffering from chronic surgical ailments which are probably curable, such as constructive blindness, clubbed hands and feet, tumors and the like, with the object of giving them relief at the free clinics in Manila. The government brings these people to Manila and returns them to their homes, all free of expense wherever such assistance be needed. The death rate has been reduced, it is believed, fully twenty — from fifty to thirty in the thousand. So far as statistics can be obtained, they make that showing, and it is probably even better than that.

Especial attention is being paid to consumption, which has attacked the natives so grievously that one in every eighteen appears to be affected by it, and some forty thousand die of it each year, so that this is one of the large problems. To those who are unfamiliar with life in tropical countries, this probably seems strange, for warm weather in the temperate zone spells health and strength. In the tropical countries the heat is, however, more deleterious because of its duration, which eventually

slows down the system and enervates it to such a degree that its resisting power to disease or parasite is largely nullified. Even the little difference between the heat of the day and that of night is almost certain to create a cold in the case of most of the natives. From this it is but a step to consumption, which receives no intelligent treatment; that means infection until it is almost an epidemic. To treat it, we are establishing out-of-door camps in large numbers.

The carabao is the salvation of the Filipino in the country districts, for it is out of the question for him to market his little crops without this animal, the sole means of transportation. Considered solely as a practical matter, the cultivation of rice, the staple food of the natives, is absolutely dependent upon this water buffalo, the fact being that the Filipino will not, as a rule, plant any rice at all unless he can plow his little paddy with a carabao. He will starve before he will adopt hand cultivation, which has become so general in other tropical countries. For a concrete instance supporting this assertion, we have only to refer to the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1900, when the Islands were almost denuded of carabao. Instead of turning to rice planting by hand, the natives preferred to go without food to a degree entirely unnecessary.

A serum was developed that promised to aid the eradication of this most infectious disease, but it failed, and effective quarantine is now relied upon with entire success.

Of Manila, the present Governor-general says, in his 1911 report:

"The health of the city has been remarkably good, and were it not for the great infant mortality, the death rate would compare favorably with any American or European city. There have been a few cases of cholera and almost no smallpox. Two new sanitary barrios have been established and are proving effective in relieving unsanitary, congested districts. . . .

"And yet the death rate among the Filipinos in Manila is frightful. It is 47.65 to the thousand, while it is but 16 for the Chinese there, 12 for the Spaniards, 13 for the Americans, and 14 for other natives of the East. This truly terrible rate among the Filipinos is owing to the mortality of all children, more than 64 per cent of all deaths being those of children less than five years old and 48.8 per cent being infants of one year or less."

In studying the calamity it has been learned, first, that the death certificates issued were probably wrong in the majority of instances. Most of the infantile deaths were ascribed to meningitis and to infantile cholera, particularly the latter, about thirty-five per cent of the total number. As soon as necropsies by thoroughly competent persons were begun, however,

it became evident that the large majority of these deaths were caused by a disease akin to beriberi, if indeed it were not that. Every effort is being made to produce an adequate remedy, but as yet it has not been found.

There is a suitable school for male nurses, another for the training of females; there is ample field for interne work in the great hospital at Manila, which is the equal of any in its equipment. Concrete hospitals are going up, or have been completed at other points, like Cebú and Culion, while there is a brick one at Bontoc; a sanitorium is building at another point, and soon there will be hospital conveniences within reasonable distance of every center of population.

In all the schools sanitation is inculcated, and gradually its efficacies to some degree are reaching into nearly every hut. Of course its progress is slow, but still it is always there. In time of threatened epidemic, strict quarantine is enforced, and personal visits made two or more times every day to each hut in the suspected district. It has been years now since we have been assailed by the cry of the natives that we were bringing on the disease with the strange disinfectants that we compelled them to employ. They have, at least, ceased to believe that much, and that exhibits considerable progress.

CHAPTER VI

GOOD ROADS

No reliable roads in the Islands when we took them — Why all construction must be permanent and maintained at a high degree of repair — First appropriation made by civil government in the Islands was one million dollars for good roads — Why this sum and two million dollars more was wasted — W. Cameron Forbes comes as Secretary of Commerce and Police — The only big business man ever in the Insular Government — He champions good roads with great vigor and intelligence — How he at last obtained success — Permanent roads in all directions and adequate system of maintenance.

UNDER Spain, there does not appear to have been, outside of the walls of Manila, even so much as a mile of permanent roadbed in all the Philippine Islands. An examination of the war maps of our predecessors, brought up to the time of the revolution in 1896, discloses what purported to be three, and only three, highways of any extent in Luzon, with byways leading from them. One was supposed to run to the north from Manila for three hundred and fifty miles, one to the northeast for about an equal

distance, while the third ran to the south for some three hundred miles.

It would appear that none of these were capable of continuous service even between any two towns along their extent. If they ever were capable of more employment, there was nothing to indicate it, when we took possession. At any rate, the Spaniards seem to have ceased expending any money upon them as early as 1895, when the coming rebellion was imminent; and other matters kept us so occupied that it was some six or seven years later before we could enter upon any comprehensive improvements in their condition. In this period, the highways, such as they were, went almost entirely to ruin. What has been said applies with equal force to the rest of the Archipelago.

The great agencies that brought about this wholesale ruin were two: first, the roads were never permanently surfaced; and second, there is an annual rainfall of some seventy-five inches in the Philippines, fully two thirds of which falls in July, August, September, and October. It is a common occurrence for a piece of apparently good road to be transformed into an impassable bog by several hours of one of these rains, which we call cloudbursts in the western part of the United States. The resulting ruin absolutely cuts off all wheel traffic during these

months of the rainy season. It was this and this alone that made it possible for Aguinaldo to keep up his resistance for so long a period. The trouble was to reach him, for in nearly six months of the year troops could not be moved. To meet this situation, we made extensive repairs, using our soldiers before the civil power came into control; but with the first rain our work was undone, and it was abandoned in despair. Few of the wooden or stone bridges and culverts that the Spaniards left to us were of any real value; and, as already said, when we had restored peace in the land, it was a country without roads.

And it never had been anything else, considered as a whole. The trunk lines that were on the maps, running like the spokes of a wheel from Manila as the hub, with scores of branches, had left some traces, but little more, in many instances. As late as 1904, three years after our civil government began, there were months in the year when it proved impossible to get a carriage through to Cavite from Manila, some fifteen miles distant, and these, for many reasons, the two points in the Archipelago most important to us.

The effect of this complete isolation was very momentous upon the people at large. All students now seem agreed that there is no place on earth to-day that would not be civilized

shortly if it were opened up to the outside world by good, permanent roads, and then left to shift for itself. That alone would solve the great problem of the Feud Country in the United States, of which mention has already been made. General Howard and I made a personal study of these regions during a number of summers, when we rode through them on mule or horseback. There one may see a people in the making in a land without roads. The consequence is that scores of thousands of people of the best Anglo-Saxon stock are living with the restricted and primitive ideas and conveniences of their ancestors of more than a century ago. The observer is made aware that only a highroad into them is necessary for their enlightenment, for he may see how they progress where this means of communication has been installed. Usually the transformation extends to some five miles from the end of the new road, and then the visitor is once more in the life of the earliest settlers.

From an economical point of view, the effect of similar isolation in the Philippines is very marked. No matter how rich the land of the native may be, it is of no value to him or to anybody else if its products cannot be sent to a market.

The effect must inevitably be that the occupant will give up all hope of raising to sell,

and raise only for home consumption. Instead of producing the crops that he could raise the most economically, selling them, and investing the proceeds in things which would improve his situation, he contents himself, because there is no object in doing better, with an inferior and smaller quantity of product. His family will weave poorer clothes, his house will be more crude, and he will settle down to the easiest way of making a bare living.

But the moment a permanent road runs by that native's shack, a revolution begins among its inmates. There is then a reliable promise that he can get rice to the market-place in the next town every day in the year. It means that he can buy at a neighboring store those objects which he has always wanted for his family. The better the road, the more money he can make, for his one carabao can haul five times as much over a smooth road as over one that sends his wheels to the hubs in the mud. He can now ride over rivers on stout bridges instead of wading them and climbing steep banks on the other side. Every farmer within reach of the new road feels the opportunity, and it is but a little time before the collective improvement demands a railroad, which in turn — because highway traffic is increased, — requires better roads still.

Also, there is law and order to be considered.

Lawlessness thrives only in darkness and obscurity. It cannot stand the public gaze; it cannot withstand the light. It is for similar reasons that gentlemen-of-the-road, or ladrones, as the natives term them, had such full play in the Islands for centuries. They operated in perfect security clear up to the walls of Manila, with its quarter of a million people. As late as 1904 I was chasing them within twenty miles of that city. With a little band of twenty they would descend in the darkness of the night upon the house of a wealthy man in a town not more than ten miles from Manila, seize him, and carry him into the forest. When the leader had been paid a thousand dollars by the distracted family of the captive, he would be released. Fifty thousand Americans might be not more than half a day's march away — and a regiment a mile distant; but the roads were impassable with the rains for the first part of the way, and there were none at all into that part of the forest where, of course, the marauders always disappeared.

Napoleon and Cæsar left their most imperishable monuments in roads. Those colossal men knew their value. They are the greatest and surest civilizing agency in the making of man.

That is why the very first appropriation ever voted by the Philippine Commission was a

million dollars gold for highways and bridges. This was in September, 1900.

Then we made a blunder, a very natural one, probably. As we had ordinarily in the past intrusted the building and maintenance of highroads in the United States exclusively to the town and county officials concerned, we saw no reason why the same plan would not work as well in the Islands among the municipal and provincial officials there. We adopted it, the roads were constructed, and when completed, turned over in good condition to the native officials. Self-government was in the air. It was being lauded to the heavens by certain Americans who never saw the Philippines, and we were foolish enough to yield to their clamor, with the result that not only was that one million dollars lost, but more than two million in addition, before we awoke to the actualities of the situation and ceased theorizing. We gave provincial governors and municipal presidents full charge of these roads, and in two or three years after our three million dollars had been spent it was a total loss, for these officials took no care of the roads intrusted to their protection, and the rainy seasons did the rest. The surfacing was washed away, the stones of bridges were exposed, each passing wheel gave them a jolt, and it was little time before the entire structure fell and closed the road.

In 1904 the roads were poorer than when we first took charge; and worse than all, there appeared to be no hope of any improvement. We had spent money with the utmost freedom, and we had made a complete failure. We believed it was useless to expend any more, and the Islands seemed destined to remain in the same economical slough in which we had found them. With affairs in this deplorable condition, there came to Manila, in August, 1904, a new Secretary of Commerce and Police, W. Cameron Forbes from Boston, a young man of about thirty-four, who had achieved great success in large financial operations. He was chosen as the best man who would go from the United States to develop the material and commercial interests of the Philippines. He had charge of navigation, harbors, coast survey, railroads, all public works, the highways, irrigation, postal service, and corporations. He was a trained organizer of large business enterprises, of their auditing, of their expenditures, and their entire financial scheme, from determining the amount of their bonds and stocks to their marketing. He spent years in the examination of large transportation properties that it was proposed should be purchased or financed by his employers. He was in the very midst of big business in the electric railroad development of this country, with a Harvard

general education to assist, and beneath it the qualities of great simplicity, modesty, and sincerity inherited from a long line of Forbes — who for a century had held a high place in business, philanthropy, and the affairs of the nation — and from his mother, who was the worthy daughter of Ralph Waldo Emerson. He was the first big business man we had ever sent out there. He threw himself with great and able vigor into the gap. He saw that three things were necessary:

(1) Provision for raising and appropriating sufficient money for the maintenance of all good roads and the construction of needed new roads.

(2) A system of road construction of permanent and durable type, of such nature that it would remain serviceable for the longest time for the least money; and

(3) A system of maintenance that would keep in good condition all roads and bridges already constructed.

Success or failure of Mr. Forbes's campaign in this matter depended entirely upon his ability to get the various native officials in the provinces to aid him, for they controlled the situation. Under the laws they could not be compelled to do anything. If they would do nothing, no better results could be had in the future than in the past. Since our occupation

their attitude had always been that they were glad to have new roads, but not a dollar of the funds in their charge would be devoted to the necessary upkeep.

It was a situation that demanded action and not theory — it was a practical question; and Forbes went about it like the practical man that he is.

His first step was taken when he got the Philippine Commission to pass an act authorizing the provinces and the municipalities to compel five days' labor of every able-bodied man on the roads, or pay in default of such labor the commuted value thereof as fixed by the provincial council. This law was to be in effect when accepted by the convention of municipal presidents and councilors.

Not a single province accepted it, and that effort proved abortive.

Another law was passed, but against Forbes's opposition, which authorized provinces to fix a toll on roads and bridges, the proceeds to be employed upon maintaining these in proper repair.

The result was no better. The natives showed that they had at least one thing in common with the peoples of all the rest of the world when they rebelled against raising internal revenue by impeding transportation.

Then the third proposition was made, a law

authorizing the provincial boards to double the cedula, or annual poll tax, from half a dollar to a dollar, the excess to be used wholly for roads and bridges.

This accomplished no more than the others; and next the persistent young Yankee passed two further acts, which provided that ten per cent of the internal revenue of the Islands should be divided in proportion to population among such of the provinces as would vote to double their poll tax, such excess to go to road work. If any province did not double this poll tax, its share of the ten per cent of the internal revenues would be divided among the provinces which had doubled it. The laws further provided:

(1) That in order to get any share of this ten per cent of the internal revenue, a province must introduce what is known as the "caminero system," by which such province would undertake to spend $175 annually on each kilometer of its roads, and, in addition, keep one competent road laborer with proper tools continually employed upon each two kilometers of the road in the dry season and upon half of that distance in the wet time of the year; and

(2) That the central government would spend money upon roads only in provinces which adopted the foregoing measures.

To show the provincial officials what this

meant in money, Forbes had the central government appropriate some eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars to go into road work in such amenable provinces only; and this sum, together with the ten per cent of the internal revenue, furnished the unprecedented sum of $2,112,000 that was available for road work in only such provinces as voted these measures.

Here, at last, was something that looked attractive to the provincial native officials, and they promptly fell into line, accepted the laws, doubled their poll tax, and established the caminero system. Whereupon Forbes notified them that he proposed to charge against each officer whose duty it was to see that a road was maintained, the cost of replacing each section of such road; and every three months the grading, surfacing, and every ditch, bridge, and culvert in that section of the road charged to that official would be checked up by an inspector, and if there had been undue depreciation the delinquent officer was to be removed!

At that time there were but 350 miles of surfaced road in all the Islands.

The very first year under these new measures this total was increased by a third, the second year by a half, and as much more in the year after that, all in accord with a general road system laid out for each province with the necessary connecting links. Bridges and culverts

of steel and concrete were made the rule, and no temporary structure was erected without permission of Forbes himself.

The stimulus which the construction of these roads gave to agriculture can hardly be overestimated. New dwellings rapidly arose beside the modern road; vacant land near by became occupied and tilled; blacksmith shops found new business in constructing broad-tired wheels, and the increased wheel traffic was astonishing.

When Forbes became Governor-general in 1909, a year after these results just described, progress on these lines moved more rapidly. The Filipinos were not long in taking advantage of the new combination of governor-general and pioneer road builder; and where, but little before, Mr. Forbes had to hold tight to the coat-tails of the provincial officials to get them to listen to him on his favorite subject, he now had great difficulty in escaping with his own, for from all over the Islands came demands for road improvement. The real construction of a metal road with concrete culverts and steel bridges was something that any Filipino could see, and it soon instilled in him an enthusiasm that was unwonted. He learned that such a road meant more money for everybody living alongside it; and there is now no necessity of the drastic requirements that Mr. Forbes had to pass to get the native officials to pay the

slightest heed to the only means of communication the people have.

In yielding to many of these local demands, however, the general plan was lost sight of necessarily, and scattered sections of good roads were built in all directions; but within the last year much progress has been made in linking these together. There were three million dollars available for roads in 1912. Within the coming several years, great strides are promised in this direction; and within five years, continuous systems will be completed in the majority of the provinces, and nearly all the large towns will be in touch with each other with hard, smooth roads, with groomed grass slopes, clean ditches, and a right of way properly maintained. On January 1, 1913, there were almost eleven hundred miles of the heavy-surfaced and four hundred of the light-surfaced roads.

The two main road projects now being worked out are:

(1) The Manila-North road, which is to run from Manila to Bangui, the extreme northern point of Luzon, a distance of 350 miles.

(2) The Manila-South road, which will extend from the capital city to Sorsogon, situated on the extreme southern end of the island. This will be more than three hundred miles long, and when it is done, there will be a first-

BENGUET ROAD. LOWER SECTION OF ZIG-ZAG FROM CAMP BOYD.

class, permanent, smooth road from one end of the island to the other, 650 miles in extent. Progress is made daily, and before the close of 1913, that portion to the north will go as far as Pangasinan, so that one can then travel by automobile in the dry season to Sibul Springs and to Baguio, the summer capital, a distance of some 150 miles. This will afford a market for a great section of rice fields now languishing from the lack of it. By 1914 that much road will be heavy enough to be in permanent use, and in 1917 the entire north road to Bangui should be of that character, too.

By March, 1912, the Manila-South road was opened all the way from Manila to the Pacific Ocean, at or near Gumaca (a little beyond Atimonan), a distance of 120 miles. This is capable of continuous use. A through road from Nueva Caceres to Legaspi, in Albay (in extreme south), a stretch of some sixty miles, will very shortly be opened for permanent traffic.

Intense rivalry has been aroused between the various provinces to see which shall show the best road condition at the end of each fiscal year. To encourage this emulation further, the central government has offered three prizes: one of seventy-five hundred dollars to the province maintaining the best stretch of first-class road in the best style; one of five thousand dollars

to the province constructing the greatest mileage of first-class quality within a year; and a third of twenty-five hundred dollars to the province transferring the greatest per cent of its funds to the road and bridge fund.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER IMPROVEMENTS

The insignificant telegraph and cable system under Spain destroyed before restoration of peace — We install a modern system of electrical communication between all the important islands and centers — We increase the railroad mileage from 120 to more than 500 — Ten millions in gold expended in the important harbors — Manila only port in Orient beside whose piers a ship drawing thirty feet may lie — Coast and geodetic work — Market provided for out-of-the-way places by government vessels — A postal service of the first class throughout all the Archipelago.

PRIVATE capital was induced by Spain to introduce the telegraph into Luzon in 1873, and to a less extent into the islands of Cebú, Panay, and Negros, where there were important seaports; but by the time we had restored peace in these lands there was not enough left of the system to describe. What Spain could not hold, she destroyed, and the natives did the same, and when later we drove Aguinaldo's forces farther and farther away from Manila, he pursued the same tactics; until all we could

find of a telegraph system was composed of about four hundred miles of useless wires in the extreme northern parts of Luzon and along the west coast.

We took hold of this situation with a strong hand, through the efficient signal corps of our army, and as rapidly as we restored peace we installed lines in island after island. In the course of the last year of the struggle with Aguinaldo we stretched 2770 miles of wire in Luzon and 909 miles more in the Visayan islands of Panay, Negros, Cebú, Leyte, and Samar.

Then arose the question of inter-island communication. When we reached the Islands, there were cables from Luzon to Panay, from there to Negros, and then on to Cebú, but these had been so interrupted by the insurgents as to be useless. General McArthur cabled to Washington urging authority to install a comprehensive cable system which would reach every important point in the entire Archipelago. He demonstrated that if it had not been for the telegraph wires he had strung, he would have required one hundred and fifty thousand men instead of the sixty thousand with which he was holding the Islands. This appealed to Washington. It saved money; and General Greely, Chief Signal Officer, was given all the authority that the situation demanded. He

ordered and dispatched at the first possible moment so much cable that by October, 1901, there was a thoroughly modern system of it between the metropolis of the Archipelago and the islands of Basilan, Boac, Bohol, Corregidor, Cebú, Jolo, Leyte, Masbate, Mindanao, Mindoro, Negros, Panay, Samar, and Siassi, effecting, with the assistance of the telephone and the telegraph lines already completed, electrical communication for 1684 miles from north to south, from Bangui, in northern Luzon, within three hundred miles of Formosa, to Siassi, but one hundred miles from Borneo. This system was unequaled in any particular in the annals of war operations. It reached every important island in the Archipelago except Paragua.

Telephones were put in with the same rapidity, beginning in Manila, until in December, 1902, when the chain of wires began to be turned over by the army to the new civil government, the signal corps was operating wires aggregating 10,232 miles, of which 336 were telephone lines, 1528 submarine cables, and 8368 land telegraph lines. The cost of this enormous contribution to the modernizing of the Filipino was two and a half million dollars gold.

This entire network of wires was thrown open to commercial use within three months after the capture of Aguinaldo (March, 1901).

What it meant to commerce alone may be suggested by the statement that tests, carefully and accurately conducted, showed that in due course no less than thirty days were consumed in sending a letter by the postal service as conducted by Spain, from Manila to various towns in Luzon, and securing a response thereto written immediately. To effect the same operation between Manila and the important points in the other islands two or three months was often needed. The first six months after the opening to commercial operations, the wires transmitted some two hundred and twenty thousand messages. The rate for all points in Luzon was two cents per word. Under Spain the rate was ten cents.

On the fourth of July, 1904, a new cable, the only one that has ever run from the Islands to America, was opened.

Progress has not lagged under civil government. The hurried construction of the wartime work, where advisable, is being made permanent, and all flying lines, really useful only in the war days, have been abandoned.

Each year a substantial addition to the system is seen. In 1910 over a thousand miles of new telegraph wire were laid down. In 1911 the addition was 255 miles and there were sunk 125 miles of new submarine cables; and in the ten years since the civil government took over

the telephones, they have increased in wire three hundred miles annually, so that in 1912 there were 8008 miles in the Islands, with 6430 miles of telegraph and 1986 of cables. Every important point in the Archipelago can now be reached by electrical communication by means of these 11,426 miles of wires at rates that are fully as low as those we pay here in the United States.

We installed the wireless as soon as it had proven its practicability, and powerful stations now exist at Manila, Cavite, Corregidor, Zamboanga, Jolo, Malabang, and Davao; while extensive plans are already projected for wider distribution of this newest means of communication.

When we went to the Islands, there was only the narrow-gauge railroad from Manila to Dagupan, 120 miles to the north. This has been modernized, from ties to engines, in every particular. In 1911 fifteen miles of new track took it up to Aringay, and in 1912 another fifteen miles carried commercial traffic still further to the north, to San Fernando.

Upon the south, a line is now in operation around Manila Bay to Cavite and on to Naic, on the western coast, a total distance of some twenty-five miles, thus establishing permanent service between points that were formerly entirely disconnected for weeks at a time, except by water, during the rainy season.

Manila is now connected with Batangas, the important city on the southern coast of Luzon, by a line some forty miles long, with a branch of thirty miles running from Calamba, on Laguna de Bay, to Pagsanjan; the main line that will connect Manila and Legaspi was due at Lucena, January 1, 1913; and construction is proceeding at various places farther toward the southern end of Luzon, which will be reached as soon as the rails can be laid.

In Panay, one of the larger islands situated about 150 miles south of Luzon, a railroad is now in operation from Iloilo, the second port in importance in the Islands, on the southern coast, to Capiz, seventy-three miles away on the northern seashore.

In Cebú, still farther to the south, there are some sixty miles in full operation.

Summing it all up, at the end of 1912 there were over five hundred miles of railroad, more than four times as many as when we took possession; and by 1915, if present plans are fulfilled, there will be a round thousand miles of first-class railroad, adequately equipped to handle the bulk of the business of the most important points in the Islands, and tapping the great centers of all their natural resources.

Almost all of this great showing of railroad expansion — for it is great under the circumstances — may be ascribed to the fact that

the Philippine Government guarantees an income of not exceeding four per cent on the cash capital actually invested in the construction and equipment of all railroads whose financing and other important particulars meet its approval.

The coast line of the Philippines is greater than that of the United States, excluding Alaska. More than one hundred streams of navigable size for light-draft craft run into the ocean from the large islands. More than nine tenths of the people of these lands live on the coast line or within sight of it, if their homes be elevated above the intervening trees. All the large towns are by the sea. As water-borne transportation is easily the cheapest in the world, it will be employed by the great bulk of Filipino commerce.

Until we took hold, all this water-borne transportation was conducted upon the policy of monopoly or privilege. There were no fixed rates or schedules. In a word, the lines were not common carriers. They owed no obligation to anybody or anything, unless to some Spanish official whose word was law. All of this was a drag upon commerce, which our civil government very soon altered by offering subsidies and other inducements to steamers operating between the different islands, which would define, announce in advance, and follow

definite routes, upon regular schedules, with fixed, just tariffs for man and merchandise. Regulations were enforced by careful inspection, resulting in complete revolution of the facilities for passenger carriage that under Spain was an abomination. Electric lights, distilling plants on every steamer, and modern plumbing were provided. Strict regulation of the purchase, handling, and serving of all foods was enforced.

Next the big harbors were attacked. The enormous sum of ten million dollars has been expended in making them the best ports in the Orient. We dredged a harbor in front of Manila until it was thirty feet deep and inclosed by two permanent breakwaters of a total length of more than two miles. Two enormous steel piers, one 650 feet in length with a width of 110 feet and one six hundred feet long and seventy feet in width, both covered with permanent steel sheds, were set beside this harbor so that ocean steamers drawing thirty feet can dock at them, an unheard-of thing in that part of the world. These piers are equipped with a full complement of railroad track, electric lights, and the most modern of traffic-handling devices. Enormous warehouses are projected to stand beside the piers; and when they are ready for occupancy, the present expense of handling the cargoes, much less than when they

all had to be lightered, will be reduced almost one half. Two other steel piers of much greater magnitude — 150 feet wide and 750 to 800 long — will be added as soon as they can be completed. Then, too, all harbor dues, one of the worst features of foreign trade, have been absolutely abolished, making Manila the only free port in the entire Orient, without a charge for tonnage, harbor, or light dues.

Dredges were put at work upon that section of the Pasig River that flows through Manila, and along whose banks are the wharves of the city, and they have been kept there ever since, maintaining at all times by their operation a clear depth of eighteen feet at least, thus admitting many vessels that before could do nothing but lighter their loads.

At Cebú, the second city of commercial importance in the Islands, on the eastern coast of the island of the same name, another revolution was instituted. There no vessel of size could approach a dock, everything having to be taken to and fro by lighters. That was all changed by constructing a concrete sea wall nearly half a mile long, which increased the berthing space of the port about one thousand per cent and permitted vessels drawing not over twenty-three feet to moor beside it and unload and load directly to and from it with modern freight-lifting appliances.

At Iloilo, the third commercial town, on the southeastern coast of Panay, work of similar import was done. Modern wharves, sadly wanting, were installed, the channel was dredged and kept dredged, quays were widened; and when the work now undertaken is completed, two large ocean steamers can lie by the new wharves, discharge, and load direct.

In all the three thousand islands, crowded together as they are, in typhoon territory, surrounded with threatening reefs, with treacherous currents, there was just one light, but not even a singly buoy in operation at the beginning of our administration. When the civil government was instituted in 1901, we had increased the number of lights to twenty-seven, and there were thirty-one buoys in position. Now there are 142 lights — flashing, occult, electric, and lantern lights, beacons to the number of fifty-two, and 108 buoys. There are semaphore stations which tell all commercial Manila what vessels are entering its channels, the route, and the probable time of arrival at the wharves. Ninety-three per cent of the twenty-six hundred men employed in the bureau of navigation, which has charge of all these matters, are Filipinos. Some fifty craft move about, engaged constantly in the work of this department or in promoting new trade where other transportation is not available. Many towns that have

never been visited by vessels large enough to carry cargo are put on regular routes of coast-guard cutters that take their products to the nearest market; and every small planter in the vicinity knows that at last he can secure sale of his goods if he gets them to the coast. This opens a new horizon to hundreds whose efforts have been stifled heretofore, and although the rates charged do not repay directly the money outlay, yet the policy has never been altered. As a rule it is but a short time after the establishment of one of these governmental routes when some canny seaman deems it worthy of the installation of a commercial line. He takes up the traffic, and the government's cutter withdraws, only to search out some other place in similar want of its services; and so the work goes on, all along the entire coast, ever expanding, ever offering its aid.

And then there has been the coast and geodetic survey, which has been pushed consistently and constantly, for this work lies even nearer to the foundation of all sea traffic than lighthouses and buoys. When we came to look for charts of the coast and waters of the Islands, it was astonishing to discover that there were none of any reliability. The continuous consequent loss of so many tons of shipping and many lives had spurred Spain to no activity. We lost vessels because of this lack,

and no time was lost in remedying an intolerable situation. We set to work to chart the 11,500 miles of general coast line in the Islands, and now more than fifty-one per cent of the labor has been completed, chart after chart being printed at Washington as rapidly as the data arrives and, so urgent is the need, distributed to mariners section by section.

The installation of a modern weather bureau service, with observations from various points, made possible by the telegraph and cable connection to all parts of the Archipelago, has been of immense benefit to shipping. Here we must pay tribute to the work that was done at the observatory established in Manila fifty years ago and presided over by learned monks. Father Faura early began the scientific study of the typhoon, the most terrible of all sea storms; and with what he left to Father Algué, who followed under our administration, the nature of these disturbances is now well established. This means more than the ordinary layman would expect, for the typhoon is capable of being known with remarkable accuracy. Its progress, its duration, the location of its center (the danger point), its intensity, can all be telegraphed to mariners in every center of shipping, and, with the wireless, even to those far out to sea, who may be unaware of the storm's existence. It is now the practice to

send this information all along the Chinese coast and even to the large Japanese ports.

The postal service under Spain was about as worthy of praise as the other facilities which she supplied for opening the country to the benefit of modern conditions. All mail forwarded from island to island was carried free of charge to the government by such commercial boats as plied between them — when they carried it. The presidents of towns were everywhere obliged to act as postmasters, and to distribute, collect, and forward at their own expense — at any rate, never at the expense of the government — all mails. There was never any steady examination of the service, any supervision of it, and the results may well be imagined. There was no regularity, no integrity, no system to any feature, except its utter lack of reliability and safety, which failing was constant; and whatever there was useful was destroyed *in toto* by the depredations of the stormy years from 1896 to 1901. In the first part of the latter year we were operating but twenty-four regular post-offices in all the Islands, and ten substations at military posts. Letters went twice a week up to Baguio from Dagupan, the northern end of the railroad, in charge of native carriers. Aside from this, all the land service was done by army messengers. But we were building with the right foundation, for even

in those days nobody could enter the mail department except through civil service. By the end of the first year under civil government, the number of post-offices had advanced from twenty-four at its commencement to sixty-six, and seventy more were installed before the annual report of the director of the service for that year was in print.

From that time progress became rapid in extension and in efficiency. In a year the number of post-offices had risen to 213. In another year it was 391, with 102 American and 289 Filipino postmasters. The coast-guard steamers were then making regular calls with mail-bags among the various islands. In 1905 there were 414 post-offices; and so we have gone on up to the present, gradually extending, gradually improving in all particulars, as rapidly as has seemed feasible, until 572 offices now supply regular, reliable service to the some six hundred towns and cities in the Archipelago — 623 to be exact, reduced for economy in administration from 1035.

The rates for letters are half what they are in the United States; the regulations the same in all important particulars, where applicable. Mails are as frequent as they are in similar communities with us, and the entire service is of a most excellent character in every particular. Nobody seems to find any fault with it. Of

course the road has not always been direct. There have been many failures; in fact, the ways have been paved by them. There have been embezzlements, routes kept open for a time and then abandoned because of disorders and unfortunate choice of officials. But we have gone ahead always, until at last the Filipinos have been given a mail service in the American sense of the term, including, in the thirty-five largest cities, a free delivery system.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OMNIBUS CLAUSE

Postal savings-banks — Their great popularity with the natives — Notable influence of the constabulary — The first census of the Philippines — We give the Islands a lower house of Congress — But three per cent of the Filipinos compose the electorate — Road and trail work among the savage peoples — How the Filipinization of the governmental service has progressed — Some things the Filipinos do not yet want to learn — Why natives cannot be more rapidly taken into their government.

POSTAL savings-banks were in the Islands earlier than we had them in the United States. This was due to a condition that existed long before we had given it thought. If we except Manila and several other cities, there were no banks in the Islands. There was no safe way for a man to keep his money if he had any. He could send it to Manila, and take out a certificate of deposit, or he could invest it; but there were drawbacks to either course. In the end most of the people just went to the post-office and secured a postal order drawn to the

order of "Self," and when they wanted any money, they presented this blue piece of paper and procured it with no trouble. In 1906 the Commission established the postal savings-banks, paying two and one half per cent interest on all deposits. Two hundred and thirty-five such banks were opened the first year, with total deposits of three hundred and ninety-three thousand dollars gold, contributed by 1616 Americans and 944 Filipinos, the latter comprising thirty-five per cent of the total. Ten more of these banks came in the next year, when the deposits aggregated seven thousand in number and over half a million dollars gold in value. The native depositors had risen to forty-five per cent. And so the story goes, until 1912 shows 414 postal banks, with deposits rising to $1,423,000 gold, and with more than eighty per cent of the depositors Filipinos, numbering in the aggregate 23,174, as against 4388 Americans. This result was largely obtained through the introduction, by Governor Forbes, at his own personal expense, of the element of emulation by offering a series of prizes to the pupils in the various schools throughout the Islands. These prizes, in cash and postal savings-bank stamps, were awarded to the pupils of each school who first opened an account and deposited a peso [fifty cents gold] in the postal savings-bank; and while to us

made in the Islands. The rolling-stone Americans who followed our occupation in the hope of gaining some moss to which they were not entitled are no longer an element.

In Manila, American daily papers to the number of three now give the news of the world with the same promptness that it is published in Continental and American centers. There are about a score of other journals, some daily, some weekly, of various character. Two are in a native dialect. Some six or seven are in Spanish.

Irrigation has been given much attention, and a comprehensive plan for its general adoption is being carried out.

The principal crop thus raised is rice. At first thought one would consider it strange that it is necessary to irrigate where the precipitation of rain is several times what it is in the best agricultural States here at home. The fact is, however, that rice is so delicate that a drought at a critical time will often ruin an entire planting; and further, with irrigation, several crops can be raised, when only one is possible otherwise.

The first large accomplishment in this line of work, and upon which a large sum has been expended, is to be the reclamation of a tract of ten thousand acres of untillable land, in the province of Tarlac; this would have been al-

ready completed had it not been attended by engineering miscalculations.

There is a Bureau of Science that through its publications, distributed as public documents, supplies the latest scientific information to the main industries.

It was the belief of the people that fodder for animals could not be grown in the Islands, and it had to be imported at a very high price. In but little time we introduced alfalfa and teosinte from Mexico, with great success.

We bought thousands of carabaos throughout the other Oriental countries after the rinderpest epidemic and sold them to the farmers for less than cost.

Formerly most of the vegetables reaching the important Island markets came from China. The Filipinos have learned from us that they can supply this market themselves. A few simple directions from the Agricultural Department were all that was required to set the movement afoot.

The Philippines were a land destitute of native horses fitted for the demands upon them; they were too small to be suitable. That condition we are changing by importations and intelligent crossing of the native mares with Arab and small Morgan stallions.

In the handling of forest timber, in the planting, care, and reaping of crops on the farm,

in the culture of tobacco and sugar-cane, the most modern machinery is at work, gradually teaching its value to those who never before had seen anything but hand and carabao labor. Probably there is no important machine in America that has not its counterpart in the Islands, except perhaps for the mere variations of magnitude.

The establishment of the Philippine constabulary has been one of the most potent innovations of our work out there. It was organized in 1901, its officers selected from volunteers recently mustered out and from soldiers of the regular army. These young men were given a few rifles and some money and sent into every province under instructions to enlist natives for the service. The result is the present splendid force of Filipinos which maintains peace and order in every civilized province — and in some others. In the first days none of the commissioned officers were natives. To-day fully twenty per cent of them are Filipinos, and others will be advanced as rapidly as they develop the requisite qualities. Next to baseball, many are inclined to believe that the constabulary is the most active single civilizing agent in our administration. The personnel has ranged from seventy-five hundred to the present roll of five thousand. The prospect before every Filipino boy that he may

at some time be a member of this body is enough to stimulate him to great efforts to improve. These straight young soldiers, full of the snap and vigor that the best of regulars exhibit, are absolutely trustworthy, and they maintain a morale that is most admirable and which may be seen reflected in an uplift of the entire surrounding country. Of course, now they are seldom called actively into stirring work, their presence being sufficient to enforce order. But they are always occupied, either in maintaining a quarantine, repairing or constructing telegraph or telephone wires, or in similar labor that keeps the governmental machine in good running order. The Philippine Scouts, composed of natives, a part of our army, are doing equally good work.

Then we took a census in 1903–1904 that was comprehensive enough to give the intelligent student the first authentic, exhaustive account of the resources, peoples, and industries of the Archipelago, without which no large consideration of our problems and no scheme of an elective participation in the central government was possible.

The Philippine Government Act of Congress, of July 1, 1902, provided that two years after the publication of this census, if the Islands were in a sufficient state of tranquillity to deserve it, a general election should be held for

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE CONSTABULARY.

1. Bontoc Igorot on entering the service, 1901. 2. After a year's service, 1902.

the choice of delegates to a national assembly, constituting the lower house of a legislative body, of which the Philippine Commission would be the upper branch.

Such an election was called for July 30, 1907. At the same time another innovation was supplied: the people in the thirty-four organized provinces would for the first time vote upon their governors, who until then had been elected by the vice-presidents and the town councilors.

The basis of representation to the Assembly was one delegate to every ninety thousand of the population, and one for a major fraction thereof — except that each province should have at least one representative. Thirty-four provinces were to be represented with a total of eighty delegates.

These gentlemen assembled at Manila upon the 16th of the following October, and in the presence of Mr. Taft, then Secretary of War, who had journeyed to the Islands for the occasion, constituted the first Philippine Assembly, which, while its enactments must have the assent of the upper house (the Philippine Commission, in whose appointment the natives have no voice), is still a very important body in the government. Thus did we fulfill another promise.

In this first election, that of 1907, there was

a total vote in all the Islands of 98,251, in a total registration of 104,966. The percentage of the total civilized population that voted was 1.41. Only 7206 votes were cast in Manila.

The proportion of registered voters qualified to vote for members of the Assembly to the Island population is 3.03 per cent. The proportion of votes to population cast in the next election was 2.81 per cent, the total vote being 192,975, or nearly double what it was two years before. The fact should be noted that over ninety per cent of the registration cast their ballots.

The qualifications of voters have been already stated in Chapter Two.

Lest this be misapprehended, it should be said that in those of the United States which do not have universal suffrage, there is not one which offers so many different avenues of qualifications, and in many of our States the requirements are far more rigid.

It is difficult to see how any man who cannot meet these requirements is capable of understanding what a modern government is or how it should be conducted. To know that only three per cent of the eight million people of these Islands are taking part in the central government, is to see the magnitude of the task that remains to be done. Probably no other single fact can be found that is so

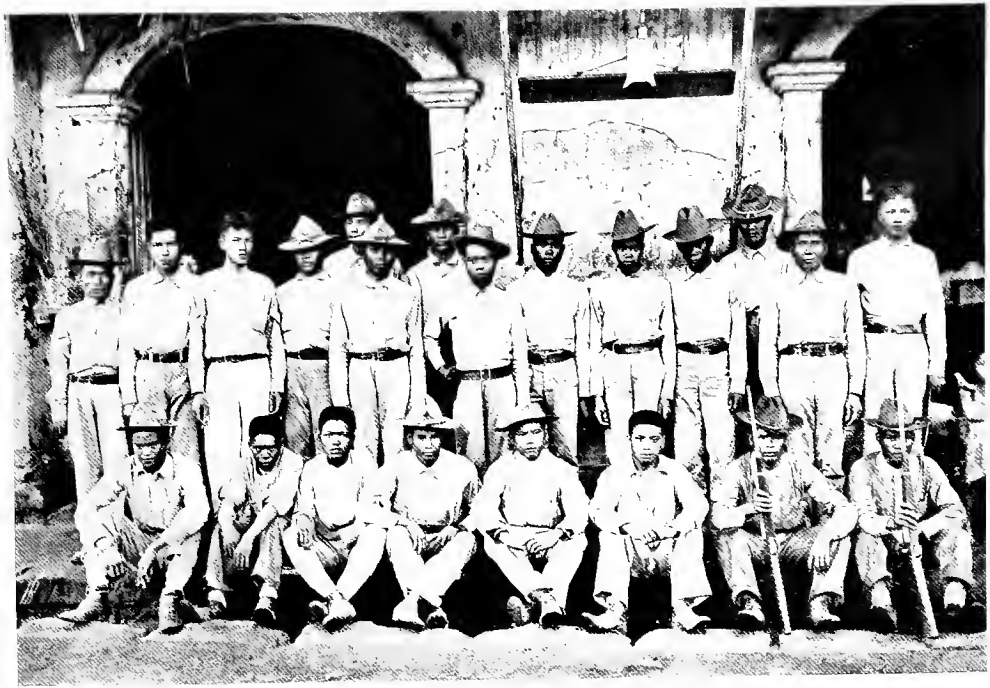
convincing to this effect. It certainly has large bearing upon what would be the result were we to withdraw altogether from the Islands in any way that would permit the inhabitants to decide the control.

Road, trail, and bridge work has been very actively promoted among the wild peoples of the northern mountains of Luzon. In what is known as the Mountain Province there are seven hundred and thirty miles of excellent, low-grade horse trail. In one sub-province, twenty thousand men worked in 1911 for ten days in widening and improving these trails, and it would appear that nowhere else in the Islands has so much good been done to the people as among the fiercest tribes. They are divided into seven sub-provinces for closer administration, with exceptionally intelligent Americans in charge of each.

Wonders have been worked by showing these people that it is their welfare only that we desire. Head-hunting has been completely suppressed, the trails are unsafe only at rare intervals, government stores where the natives may buy goods cheaply and sell their products at a good profit have been installed at frequent intervals, and peace and good will have been firmly established. The chieftains are co-operating, and a complete social revolution is well advanced.

The wealth of some of these tribes is rather astounding. For example, there are the Ifugaos, who have the most wonderful systems of terraced rice fields in the world. Single walls frequently exceed fifty feet in height, and series of terraces often rise thousands of feet above the rivers where they begin. There are one hundred and twenty-five thousand members of the tribe, and their *per capita* wealth is three hundred and sixty dollars. The Ifugaos, together with all the rest of the wild men of the Islands, hate the Tagalogs with wholesale cordiality, despise them for their low state of physical development, and detest them for the cruelties to which the lowland race has always subjected them, wherever opportunity has arisen.

The conditions among some of the Moros have recently greatly improved. American and European capital is being heavily invested among them in plantations, sawmills, and timber concessions. The plantations produce rubber, coffee, cocoanut, sugar-cane, and rice. The natives work the forests for wax, gutta-percha, nipa, various barks, and the like, and do an extensive business in button shell, fresh fish, pearl shell, vegetables, and fruits. French buyers are on the ground with offers for all pearls as fast as they are delivered. Cattle, horse, and hog raising are steadily increasing;



FILIPINOS IN OUR ARMY.

Maccabebe Scouts who captured Aguinaldo.

and as rapidly as possible a complete revolution has been worked in sanitary and, therefore, in health matters. The danger from infectious diseases is now entirely negligible.

Mr. Taft and all his successors had urged that Congress permit the unlimited free entry into Island ports of all articles grown, produced, or manufactured in the United States (rice excepted). Their recommendations were at last adopted in what is designated as the "Philippine Tariff Law of 1909." In the same year "The Payne Tariff Law" reciprocated by admitting Philippine products or manufactures, except rice, with certain limitations of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and cigars. Of the effects of these acts we shall speak later.

The remarkable showing made near the close of Chapter Two of the extent to which as early as 1903 we had admitted the natives into their government has been constantly bettered year by year.

All the provincial officers, 995 in number, are now Filipinos, except twenty-two American treasurers and fourteen American subordinates. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is a Filipino, and the court is composed of four Americans and three natives. The Philippine Commission has four natives and five Americans, and in the civil service the proportion of natives to Americans has gradually

increased from forty per cent in 1903 to sixty per cent in 1907, sixty-three per cent in 1909, and sixty-seven per cent by the latest information.

In 1911, in all the various municipal and township governments, there were 108 Americans to 12,685 natives. There were 2633 Americans and 4981 Filipinos, with a permanent status in the governmental civil service, indicating that since 1905 there has been a net decrease of Americans of 674, while in the same period there has been a net increase of natives of 958.

The following recent statement of the present governor-general, Mr. Forbes, with respect to this matter, seems so concise and full of so much common sense that it is adopted as sound.

"The so-called Filipinization of the service," he says, "has progressed more during the past year than in the two preceding years. This fact does not seem to satisfy the advocates of a more rapid Filipinization of the service, as their eyes seem to be fixed upon the higher salaried positions, and they let the fact of the steady increase in the percentage of Filipinos to Americans pass by unnoticed. It is necessary, however, to proceed on intelligent lines by gradual processes and to make changes only when it is clearly shown that no disadvantage to the service will ensue when a change is made.

Two classes of disadvantages must be taken into consideration: One is the demoralization of the service where American employees are displaced, to the possible acceleration of the already alarming high rate at which the Americans are leaving the service; and the second is with reference to the capacity of the Filipino to properly fulfill the duties of the position. There are some classes of work in which Americans are necessary; for example, it is not believed advisable to reduce the number of American school-teachers; in fact, it would give me the keenest pleasure were the finances such as to justify doubling the number of American teachers in the Islands, as it is impossible to get Filipinos who can teach the English language as can Americans. It is not my purpose to Filipinize the constabulary to any very great extent. I believe the maintenance of order had best be conducted by American officers. It is my belief that in the judiciary the proportion should be one half American to one half Filipino. It is important that certain proportions of the officers in the attorney-general's and prosecuting attorney's offices, in the force of engineers, and in the executive positions in the bureau should be American for a number of years to come. On the other hand it is my belief that there are many positions in which the number of Filipinos in the service ought to be very largely increased. It is unfortunately true that in the matter of public works it is impossible to find Filipinos equipped to do the work of engineers. Few Filipinos have devoted themselves to the science of engineering, and it

is impossible to find enough Filipinos equipped to take on these duties. In the matter of veterinarians, not only has the government been unable to find them, but the Filipinos have not coöperated in the efforts of the government to educate them, it having been found that there are very few applicants for the veterinary school which the government undertook to establish.

"There are many positions, however, where more Filipinos could be employed with distinct benefit to the service, and the attention of all responsible officers will be called to the fact that it is the desire of the administration that the percentage of Filipinos in the service be increased with greater rapidity."

CHAPTER IX

THE AMERICAN PERSONNEL

High attainments of our most important officials in the Islands — Young experts filling the executive places — Americans in the service compelled to leave the Islands at stated periods for their health — Revolution in manner of living since the early days — The beach-comber now only in history — The harm he and other dissolute Americans wrought — Our first American treasurers largely dishonest.

In carrying out these great efforts to give the Filipinos the same opportunities for progress that we have in the United States, we have been scrupulously careful in choosing for the high places the Americans who should represent us upon the ground.

Mr. Taft was made the first governor in 1901. Associated with him were the other members of the Taft Commission, who became heads of departments, Worcester of the Interior, Wright of Commerce and Police, Ide of Finance and Justice, and Moses of Public Instruction. We have often had Washington

cabinets that were of far less eminence. Mr. Worcester still remains.

By the time Mr. Taft was transferred to Washington in January, 1904, after nearly four years in the Philippines, the Island government was as smooth-running as our own. Mr. Wright succeeded him and then became our ambassador to Japan in the spring of 1906.

In April, 1906, Mr. Ide became governor-general, resigning after several months' service to go to Spain as our minister. He was succeeded in September by James F. Smith, who came to the Islands as colonel of California Volunteers, in 1898, and had since been governor of Negros, collector of customs at Manila, brigadier-general of volunteers, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Islands, and a member of the Commission since 1902. No man of our race knew the people and their needs better than he; and according to Governor Forbes, to whom the credit has always been given, it was Smith who suggested the doubling of the cedula tax that cut the Gordian knot and set Forbes's road system upon its feet, as related in Chapter Six. Mr. Smith was also the associate of Mr. Taft before the Vatican in the Friar Land negotiations.

He was succeeded in November, 1909, by Mr. Forbes, who still occupies the position.

Of the other members of the Commission

who have served from time to time, it is but their due to say that they have never lowered the standard set in the beginning in any particular, and our country could scarcely have furnished men more worthy in character, ability, and experience for leadership in the Islands. The one now most in the public eye is W. Morgan Shuster, who became an international figure in Persia in 1911.

In Mr. Forbes, who came in the summer of 1904 as Secretary of Commerce and Police, the Island administration, as already said, was provided with its first big business man. In him, with his youth, his high education, his athletic qualifications, his experience in big business, in engineering problems, and in auditing, and his natural philanthropy, the government was provided with just the official it then required. Up to that time practically all our efforts had been directed to setting up a government upon which, as a foundation, we could give industrial stability, progress, and development. As soon as that foundation was laid, and liberty, equality, and opportunity had become assured for every Filipino, President Roosevelt and Mr. Taft sought all over the United States for the best man to develop the industrial superstructure; that man was determined to be Mr. Forbes, and nobody has questioned the correctness of the judgment.

As we shall soon see, an industrial revolution began with his arrival; he was equal to the great demand.

This exceptional record of the chief governing body is undoubtedly due to the fact that Mr. Taft personally has been appointing these men ever since 1900, either as President of the Commission, Governor, Secretary of War, or President of the United States.

Upon several occasions, violent and virulent attacks have been made in America upon the conduct of some of the Commission, but in every instance Congressional investigation has resulted in exoneration.

For other high positions, the most expert men in the United States who could be induced to go have been employed. Taking these, man for man, they appear fully equal to similar officials in our governmental service. They were mostly the youngest men who could be procured, who had become eminent here in their especial branches.

For the civil service positions, young college men have been especially sought, and every effort made to attract them. The spacious houses in Manila of the Elks, the Army and Navy, the Manila, and Polo clubs have been thrown open to them, as have the doors of the highest officials; and society, while hardly surpassed in any particular in any capital,

has the rare attribute of asking nobody for a pedigree or a bank account. It demands only character. Eight hundred automobiles fly about Manila, where there were almost none five or six years ago. Polo came with Forbes, who is an expert, and his imported ponies set a standard that gave the sport the same place that it occupies in India, England, France, and the United States. At Baguio a summer resort has been created in the high mountains, with a climate that few places in America can surpass, and to that point, by a most beautiful automobile road that is a model of engineering, the administrative forces are moved in the wet, hot season. A month's vacation is given to all in the service, each year, and besides there is about the same length of time allowed to accumulate, year by year, until it will give opportunity, with free transportation, to visit the home land. It is desired that all shall leave the Islands at least every three years, and to enforce this, as far as possible, cumulative leave is not permitted after a period of five years since last availed of. And we may add that few want to remain in "the States," as they call their country, after their leaves have expired, so attractive has the Island life become.[1]

This denotes a revolution that would not

[1] For a hostile view of Insular Service, *vide* Blount, "American Occupation of the Philippines," Ch. XXIV (1912).

have been deemed possible ten years ago, when existence there was unbearable, with its tin pans for bathtubs, its canned milk, a total lack of vegetables, clouds of flies and mosquitoes, with lizards running up and down the walls of the dining-room in the best hotel, whose accommodations were a warrant for arson.

But there has been a darker picture that must be mentioned in this chapter. The Americans were not always of the present class out there. The beach-comber and the bum followed our flag; and before peace had been really secured, the large majority of the towns from one end of the Archipelago to the other were afflicted with dissolute, drunken, lawless Americans, who were subsisting upon the labor of the low Filipino women with whom they cohabited. They were quarrelsome and dishonest. They secured what money they needed in addition to that supplied by the means just mentioned, by borrowing, gambling, begging, or stealing it from the natives — and our aim in the Islands, we had told the inhabitants, was to give them the advantages of American civilization!

This gentry we at last drove out, mostly by deportation under a Vagrancy Act; but what they did there will long deter our progress and that of the natives.

But even worse were our first experiments with the Americans we appointed as provincial

treasurers, because we felt that we could not yet be sufficiently sure of native honesty. Of the entire thirty-four, one half became embezzlers! That, of course, had tremendous effect upon our prestige. In the face of that terrible showing, still we had to proclaim that the Americans had come to the Islands for the benefit of the Filipinos. The only satisfaction to be derived from the incident was that we sent every one of these criminals to Bilibid prison in Manila with sentences of twenty-five years.

CHAPTER X

THE BUSINESS EXPANSION

Total imports and exports averaged thirty-five million dollars under Spain — In five years under us they increased to sixty-six million dollars and in 1912 reached the figure of one hundred and five million dollars — Quickening effect of the Payne Tariff Bill — Great growth in the tobacco and sugar industries — Showing of the internal revenues — A complete industrial revolution accomplished.

If the tremendous works and efforts that have been detailed in the preceding chapters have been performed with intelligence, it is but reasonable to expect them to have resulted in some progress that can be mathematically demonstrated.

Under Spain, according to the best information her records show, the total valuation of Philippine exports and imports for the last five years of her occupation averaged thirty-five million dollars. In the war days of 1899, they fell to twenty-five million dollars. A year later they went to $40,350,000; to $53,490,000 in 1901; three millions more in

1902, and to sixty-six million dollars in 1903, about double the average under Spain. This figure was not exceeded until 1910, the first year under the two new tariff acts before mentioned, which gave free trade between the United States and the Islands, with limitations which as yet need not be enforced.

The first evidence of what the Payne Bill was to mean to the Filipinos was a sharp increase in the price of tobacco and sugar, prices that enabled the natives greatly to increase production, to pay their obligations, to buy more carabao, and to raise wages. The amount of land under sugar cultivation largely increased. In some of the provinces enough seed cane could not be had, and the people cut up the growing cane instead of reducing it to sugar, in order to make seed for the next crop. In Occidental Negros the activity has been especially marked, and the proprietors of large tracts of land have increased that devoted to sugar to an amount estimated to be fifty-two per cent of the total cultivated area. One of the larger owners of sugar haciendas in that province reports that he purchased five hundred carabao during 1910, doubled the acreage of his sugar plantation during 1911, and in 1912 put up a modern sugar mill. Most of the large estates have paid off their indebtedness contracted during the times of the failure of

crops and the worst of the rinderpest; and the customs reports of Iloilo and Cebú show that the unprecedented number of more than fifty-five hundred draft animals landed there in 1911.

But the greatest revival occurred in the tobacco industry, not only among the tobacco growers, mostly to be found in northern Luzon, particularly in the Cagayan Valley, but also among the cigar manufacturers, centered at Manila.

The Payne Bill provided that not more than one hundred and fifty million Philippine cigars could be imported into the United States free of duty. Prior to this law, probably most of the Philippine cigars sold in America were made in New Jersey from plants grown there, and in 1908 there were but thirty thousand of the genuine sort that came to us. The first year of the Payne Bill sent this total up to eighty-four million. But in this rush poor quality crept in too often, and new customers who might have been held by good cigars were driven away by bad ones, so in 1911 we took but twenty-three million. There is assurance, however, that regulations to improve the quality now enforced at the exporting points will gradually bring the trade up once more. But, even at the figure last quoted, the revival in the exports to us is enormous, an increase from thirty thousand to twenty-three million.

The amount of internal revenues exhibits great increase and must be a true indicator of the rejuvenation. These revenues are collected on cigarettes, cigars, and liquors, and, at the rate of one third of one per cent from manufacturers and merchants who do business exceeding $250 per annum, reckoned upon the gross value of goods sold or exchanged (but not exported, and not counting spirits, tobacco, and farm products).

In the first year of the Payne Bill, this revenue increased by twenty per cent, and in 1911 by forty per cent more, a total gain of sixty per cent; and in 1911 the gross sales of everything by these taxed classes showed an increase of more than one third over those of 1909. Even the imports from Europe and countries other than our own increased largely, from twenty-three million dollars in 1909 to thirty million dollars in 1911, and to $33,945,825 in 1912; while with us they grew (exclusive of gold and silver) from $4,691,000 in 1909 to $10,775,000 in 1910, to $19,483,000 in 1911, and to $20,604,155 in 1912.

The total exports and imports in 1909, before the Payne Bill was passed, amounted to fifty-nine million dollars. In 1910 they rose to seventy-seven million dollars, in 1911 to $84,640,000, and in 1912 to one hundred and five million dollars. When attention is called

to the total in 1899 of only twenty-five million dollars, the enormous extension is readily grasped. It is over four hundred per cent.

(The figures in the last two paragraphs indicate a business expansion of one hundred and eighty million dollars gold in three years.)

And we, in the United States, secured much direct benefit from these tariff bills, as the following shows:

During the first nine months of the new act, commercial imports from the United States increased from $4,700,000 to $10,775,000, or over 125 per cent, for the initial time placing this country first among the exporters to the Islands. The rule in practically every tropical country is that cotton cloths supply the largest item among imports. This is notably the case in the Philippines, and so it is not surprising that importations of cotton goods from this country increased about three hundred per cent the first year of free trade, thus diverting some three hundred and fifty thousand dollars worth of business of this character to ourselves from the various European countries and India.

The year before the Payne Bill, the Philippines bought from us three hundred and eighty-six thousand dollars worth of illuminating oil. The year later their purchases amounted to nine hundred and forty-two thousand dollars of it.

Up to 1909 the wheat flour trade had been about evenly divided between us and Australia. The first year under the new tariff, we had eighty-two per cent of the total. In 1910 we sold the Islands 170 per cent more iron in plates and sheets than in 1909. In 1909 the Islands bought $275 worth of cement from us. In 1910 they acquired one hundred and ninety-three thousand dollars worth of that commodity. The Islands promptly increased their importations of fish and fish products over three hundred per cent. It was the same with coffee, only the increase was almost seven hundred per cent. Of boots and shoes they took nearly three times as many. The story of other commodities, such as wax and paraffin, of automobiles and carriages, American-made silks, brass, copper, and lumber, is the same in general tendency.

Turning to the benefits derived by the Filipinos, we find that they sold to us in 1909 ten million dollars worth of their products. In 1910 they sent us $18,750,000 worth of them. In 1909, the Islands sold to us sugar to the value of six hundred and fourteen thousand dollars. In 1910 they sold us between eight and nine times as much, amounting to a valuation of five and a half millions. The official figures for 1911 show that they sent us $7,144,000, more than eleven times what they

were forwarding to us before the tariff was taken off. There is also a great advance in their sales to us of copra, of hemp, of Philippine hats, of which latter they sold to us in 1909 but eighty-eight hundred dollars worth. In 1910 they sent over one hundred and twelve thousand dollars worth of them. Copra is now the leading export, with $16,514,749 worth in 1912, an increase of nearly fifty per cent over 1911. We have accomplished an industrial revolution in the Philippines.

CHAPTER XI

THE MONEY COST TO AMERICA

Since 1902 the expense of the Islands to the United States has been only for the support of our armed forces — How that expense may be itemized — Ten million dollars per annum the average — Credits that must be made to the account.

In any comprehensive study of our future policy toward the Philippines, we can hardly avoid computing what they are costing us. Concerning this, most widely differing statements have been made, apparently, however, not because of any real difficulty in reaching substantial accord, but for the reason that the various computers have had an interest in making the figures large or small to support certain preconceived positions. The injection of the Philippine problem into politics has been mainly responsible for this situation, and as an illustration we may take a recent Congressional report which estimates that it is costing us annually twenty-six million dollars to maintain our armed forces in the Islands. This enormous total is easily reached by multiply-

ing the mean number of soldiers out there by fifteen hundred dollars, upon the basis that "It is estimated that it costs the government fifteen hundred dollars annually to maintain each soldier in the foreign service."

The surprising thing about such an assertion is that the total is made so small. A much larger amount could just as well have been predicated upon that phrase "It is estimated."

The facts are substantially as follows:

For the last ten years, we have averaged 5097 men in the Philippine Scouts, whose 4971 enlisted men are all Filipinos, paid $7.50 per month, just half of what our American troops receive. In a special report to the President, dated January 23, 1908, Secretary of War Taft stated that the Department reckoned five hundred dollars as the cost *in toto* to the United States for each man in the Scouts. The pay roll of this organization for 1911 was $1,019,562. The report of the Commissary-general of the army puts the cost of the Philippine daily ration at $.2456. This means half a million dollars for the Scouts' rations for the year 1911. There are also the various allowances for clothing, marksmanship, travel, certificates of merit, etc., which, estimated at two hundred dollars per man of the total force of 5097, adds a round million to the previous million and a half dollars, giving us two and a half million dollars as the cost of

the Scouts to the United States for the year. Mr. Taft reckoned at the rate of $250 per man, a total of $2,548,500, substantially the same figure.

Turning to the cost of our regulars, officers and men, 13,501 of whom we have kept out there upon the average for the past ten years, Mr. Taft says in the same report that the expense of their transportation and maintenance, over what these items would be had the troops remained in America, he estimates as $250 per man, which amounts to but $3,375,250 per annum. This figure appears to be too small, as the following details will demonstrate.

The appropriation by Congress in 1911 for extra pay for officers and men of the army because in foreign service was $1,196,000. Two thirds of the force thus engaged was in the Philippines. We may therefore roughly consider that these last used a similar proportion of the appropriation, or eight hundred thousand dollars.

The average cost for these ten years for the army transport service between the various Philippine Islands was eight hundred and eighty-nine thousand dollars per annum. To this should be added the cost of troop transportation across the Pacific and back; and if the Philippines be charged with $2,198,000, which is two thirds of the average annual cost for the

ten years in question, of all our ocean transports, it is a maximum estimate. The cost of cabling to and from the army in the Islands has averaged forty-four thousand dollars per annum for the decade. It costs two cents *per diem* more for the Philippine ration than for the ration in the United States, or $92,994 a year for the 12,739 enlisted men we have averaged yearly since 1902. We have averaged, for the same period, to spend one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars each year for coast and geodetic survey work in the Archipelago. To this should be added, as an outside figure, an annual depreciation of ten per cent of the original cost of the fortifications and accessories thereto, and of the barracks and quarters erected in the Islands prior to August 20, 1912, their combined figures, according to the War Department, amounting to $15,327,753. The fortifications cost $4,494,305, and the barracks and quarters, $10,833,448. The figure for depreciation and upkeep is $1,532,775. If all these items are added, they total $5,731,769. Allowances to the extent of some three hundred and twenty-eight thousand dollars for officers' quarters (computed at thirty-six dollars per month, for three rooms, for each of the 761 officers) and forty thousand dollars, to the same number, for fuel and light, should be added. The total is now

increased to $6,099,769, and adding the two and a half million dollars that the Scouts cost us, as admitted by Mr. Taft, whose interest it is to make the figure as low as possible, we have the annual average cost of the Philippines to us for the past ten years as $8,599,769. If we allow fifteen per cent and approximately a quarter of a million dollars for extras and good measure, the gross is ten million dollars. This is certainly an outside estimate.

There are other figures that should be remembered. For example, we spent one hundred and sixty-nine million dollars upon our forces in the Islands from June 30, 1898, to July 1, 1902.[1] Then we voted three million dollars to the natives, when their carabaos were killed by the rinderpest in 1902–1903. Congress also donated three hundred and fifty-one thousand dollars to aid the Insular Government in completing its census. If to these figures we add a hundred million dollars for the total running expenses, as just computed above, for the last ten years, and $15,327,753 as the cost of the fortifications, barracks, and quarters, the total cost of the Islands to us up to June 30, 1912, is two hundred and eighty-seven million dollars.

If anybody thinks that if we did not have the Islands we should reduce our army by discharg-

[1] *Congressional Record*, February 25, 1908; speech of J. L. Slayden, pp. 2532 *et seq.*

ing therefrom the regulars we keep in the Philippines, he may increase the ten million dollars and the two hundred and eighty-seven million dollars by the proper figure. But it is rather idle to assume anything of that character. Whether the army would or would not be reduced is entirely in the keeping of Congress alone. The weight of the evidence is that the American people will not now favor any reduction of our army. Certainly, irrespective of the Philippines, our foreign affairs are growing more and more delicate, especially to the south of us and in China. The Spanish War taught us the foolhardiness of too small a regular force, and the lessons of that conflict are not yet dim.

As for the additional naval expense which may be thought to have been undertaken by reason of the possession of the Islands, that is negligible, for it is evident that we keep no greater naval force in the Far East than we should anyhow. For many years we have maintained the Pacific Fleet, and everybody now realizes that it must probably be increased to the size of that in the Atlantic, for it will be but a short time, as the history of nations computes time, when our western coast will be as important from a national point of view as is the eastern seaboard to-day.

There are, too, important credits that we must give to this account. Upon at least two

occasions we have put men very promptly into China because we had them in Manila. Each was a most critical period. It may entertain some people to try to put into figures just how many dollars we saved by having regiments on the China coast within fifty hours of these particular outbreaks instead of after thirty days, the usual time consumed in transporting troops across the Pacific, assuming that we have them at the port of departure. Inability upon our part to have done our full share in the two instances referred to might very easily have swung the balance of power in the Far East farther away from us and toward the nations whose troops were on the ground. We have maintained the "Open Door" in China because we have had, upon every occasion when it seemed about to be closed, first, as much of a force there as anybody else, and, second, our occupation of the Philippines gave us substantial reason for asserting a commanding attitude in anything affecting that region. If one try to estimate what this dominating position be worth in money to America, he will soon find himself figuring in the hundreds of millions.

Then there is the money value of knowing how to handle troops in the tropical zone, and of having an efficient transport service, instead of having to make one, as had to be done

in 1898. At that time we wasted large sums because we lacked this knowledge; we killed hundreds of men by disease.

Disallowing these offsets, at the very most the Islands have cost us ten million dollars per annum for the last decade; but for that sum, our achievements in these distant lands as described in the preceding chapters, unless the contrary appears from the context, have cost the United States nothing. They have all been liquidated from funds of the Insular Government.

CHAPTER XII

THE PROBLEM IN 1913

Our policy in 1913 — The *gente illustrada* opposed to introduction of necessary capital — The clamor for independence — Consideration of the three possible courses open to the United States — Evidences of progress — Consequences of our continued occupation — The uncertainties of the future.

As the foregoing chapters have set out, we have performed veritable prodigies of altruism. Unquestionably we have done more for the mass of the Filipinos than any other nation ever did for a colony; and yet we have hardly made a beginning, so vast is the task.

The present governor-general, Forbes, thus stated his views of the situation confronting us at the time of his inauguration:

"Analyzing the instructions of President McKinley, we may fairly take as the goal toward which we are to steer, the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the Philippine people. In so far as the people are to-day happy, peaceful, and prosperous, we have succeeded; in so far

as the people do not enjoy these blessings, we have not yet achieved success. The people are to-day peaceful. We can concentrate our attention in bringing them prosperity, secure in the belief that under just and equitable laws, under a wise and firm government, with that freedom of thought, of speech, of worship, of labor, and of opportunity which now prevail, happiness will not be found far away when the means of procuring it are abundantly at hand.

"Here is a climate particularly favorable for some classes of products and capable of yielding vast returns to honest and intelligent expenditure of effort, and yet we have a people bemoaning their poverty and living from day to day without those reserve supplies so necessary where crops are uncertain [In 1911, rice, the principal article of food, was imported into the Islands to the value of $6,560,000.—F. C.], without the alleviation from suffering which modern medicines and surgery can give, without the nourishing kinds of food so necessary to build up the strength of the body, without houses built to withstand the elements, without, in fact, most of those things which modern civilization believes to be necessary for the happiness of a community.

"An analysis of the fundamental conditions of life reveals in part the reasons for these conditions. A very large proportion of the people have been held in that primitive condition where each man supplied all of the things necessary for his own use and got along with what he could personally produce. We must bend our efforts to advance the day when each

individual supplies the articles which he is best fitted to produce, which he sells to his fellow men, and uses the money thus gained to purchase of others the things which they can produce better and cheaper than he. This is the essence of trade, and this condition of affairs is impossible without economical means of transportation, hitherto wofully lacking.

"Our success in accomplishing our principal object in the Islands, — namely, that of bettering the conditions of the people, — may be best measured by the increase from time to time in the rate of wages, and the value of imports and exports.

"What is needed here is capital.

"Let us turn our attention to a few comparative figures.

"The total population of Hawaii is 198,000 people or about one fortieth of the population of the Philippine Islands, now approximately eight millions. The total exports from Hawaii in 1907 were $29,000,000. The total exports from the Philippine Islands for the same year were $34,000,000. In other words, Hawaii produced for export approximately thirty-six times as much *per capita* as did the Philippine Islands.

"This is not because the laborers are superior, as Hawaii has come here in search of laborers and reports that those few whom they have obtained are equal to their Japanese, Korean, and other laborers. Porto Rico has one million people, or one eighth the population of the Philippine Islands, and in 1907 its exports were $27,000,000.

"Porto Rico evidently does not exercise the same degree of economy in the use of its labor as does Hawaii, for it produces only one sixth as much *per capita* for export, and still Porto Rico exports six times as much *per capita* as do the people of the Philippine Islands. Were these Islands to produce for sale to other countries as much *per capita* as Porto Rico, the total exports would be $216,000,000. Were they to produce as much *per capita* as Hawaii, the total exports would be $1,179,000,000 a year.

"The explanation of this lies in the fact that Hawaii has an abundance of capital, employs modern methods of cultivation and manufacture, modern freight-handling devices, and suitable and adequate steamship and railroad facilities. In other words, in Hawaii the work of the laborer counts; in the Philippine Islands it does not. No, it is not labor that is wanted here, it is capital. . . . [Governor Forbes might have added a comparison with Java, which with less than half as much territory not only supports four times as many people, exports, and does not import foodstuffs, but sends about $100,000,000 annually to Holland in profits. — F. C.]

"I should like to see every one of the two million children of school age in these Islands receiving an education. The thought is grievous that any boy or girl in the Philippine Islands wanting to have an education should be unable to secure it because of failure of the government to provide facilities, and yet the resources of the Islands have not developed to that point where I feel we are justified in largely

increasing the appropriation for education. When the time comes that facilities can be available, I shall not be opposed to a law providing for compulsory education. The amount of education we shall be able to accomplish in ten years will be very much greater if we devote our first money toward increasing the wealth of the people and later using the resulting increase of revenues for extending our educational facilities. I liken the work of the government on irrigation and improvement of transportation to cutting the strings which close the mouth of a purse of gold. The gold will pour forth and yield enough for all."

While the recent remarkable business expansion that has occurred in the Islands since those words were spoken would vary this statement somewhat, I can devise none other which, upon the whole, appears to me so well to describe the Philippine Problem in 1913 and my comprehension of our present policy with respect to it.

This policy to seek capital is bitterly opposed by the more prominent of the *gente illustrada*. Their position was first made evident in the matter of the Friar Lands, in Chapter Four.

Upon the 6th of December, 1910, the Philippine Assembly passed a resolution from which the following is an extract:

"RESOLVED, That the Philippine Assembly do, and hereby does, declare, without entering upon a discussion of the legality or illegality of

the matter, that the sale in large and unlimited tracts of the so-called friar estates to great corporations for their exploitation is contrary to the will, the sentiment, and the interests of the Philippine people."

In a speech upon the floor of the House in Washington upon May 1, 1912, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, one of the two Filipino Resident Commissioners to that body, said:

"I am authorized to say, Mr. Speaker, and standing here now I do say, that the Filipino people would rather pay from general taxation, and if necessary from voluntary contributions, every cent that has been spent by the Philippine Government for the purchase of these lands than to see them sold to individuals or corporations for exploitation. And the reason for this, if I am to express it in a few words, is to be found in the following paragraph: We do not want vast landed estates created there. We do want a thrifty, hardy, land-owning body of citizens. Patriotism, thrift, and love of country does not exist in the breast of the peon who resides on a great sugar plantation, but rather thrives in the heart of the man whose feet are firmly planted in his own land. . . . Their views (those of the Philippine Commission) are that the sooner the natural resources of the Philippines are developed, the better for the Filipinos themselves; that the great need of the islands is capital, and that all possible means must be employed to bring into the islands large amounts of capital; and

that one of these means is to permit the purchase, ownership, and holding of great land estates. . . . In the long run, they (great corporations) monopolize the wealth of the country and deprive the large majority of the inhabitants of their just share of such wealth. This being so, the Filipinos would rather keep on the statute books of the Philippines their present land laws than to permit, under the pretense of development, the concentration in a few hands of the resources of their country."

This position attracted to its support the active American foes of everything we have ever attempted in the Islands; but there was another argument produced that had still more weight with these fellow citizens of ours, and that was that the introduction of capital would forever destroy any hope of independence for the Philippines.

The record of the serious attempt for immediate independence begins with the passage through the Assembly of the resolution, in May, 1910:

"*Whereas* the Philippine Assembly, as the legitimate representative of the Filipino people, must be the faithful echo of what the latter thinks and feels: and

"*Whereas* the Philippine nation, being positively convinced that it possesses the actual capacity for self-government as a civilized nation, aspires ardently to be independent, and, trusting in the justice and in the tradi-

tion of the Nation that now directs the fate and destiny of the Filipinos, anxiously hopes to obtain it as soon as practicable — immediately, if that be possible — from the Congress of the United States of America; and

"*Whereas* in behalf of the good of the Philippines it is necessary that the Congress of the United States of America be informed by the people of the Philippines itself concerning the points stated above: Now, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Philippine Assembly shall, by means of a memorial, lay at once and without delay before the Congress of the United States of America the said aptitude, desire, and expectation of the Philippine nation."

In addition, both of the political parties, one always opposed to our occupation and the other heretofore in favor of it for some time to come, adopted resolutions to the same purport through their respective representatives in the Assembly, while Osmeña, the exceedingly able presiding officer of that body, thus stated the *gente illustrada* attitude as he addressed it at the close of its initial session:

"We Filipinos desire national independence, a desire existing before our second uprising against Spain and continuing thereafter equally under the shock of arms and the ægis of peace. We believe ourselves capable of ruling our own destinies. The phrase 'immediate independence,' inscribed upon the banner of the majority, is neither a new inscription nor a new ideal.

'Immediate independence' is the motto of our country to-day and her motto forever, for it incarnates and signifies her true aspiration, that aspiration which has suffered neither change nor decay and which her children through all vicissitudes and adversities have never forgotten for a single moment; aye, not even in the moment of swearing allegiance, for that allegiance involves no repudiation of our ideals, and we believe allegiance to America still permits us to be faithful to our conscience as men and to our sacred desire for national independence.

"Permit me, gentlemen of the Chamber, to declare solemnly before God and before the world, upon my conscience as a deputy and representative of my compatriots, and under my responsibility as president of this Chamber, that we believe the people desire independence, that it believes itself capable of leading an orderly existence, efficient both in internal and external affairs, as a member of the free and civilized nations; and that we believe that if at this moment the United States should grant the suit of the Filipino people for liberty, it could discharge to the full its obligations toward itself and toward others, without detriment to liberty, to law, or to justice."

These extracts appear fairly to express the views of the *gente illustrada*, the ten per cent who want to acquire the government of the other ninety per cent who would thus be completely at their mercy.

With these statements as a text, Quezon, in the speech before the American House, from which extracts have already been made, gave us sufficient warning of the *gente illustrada* opposition to our policy in the Islands, in these words:

"There are many American officials in the Philippine Government and in the United States who, in their dealings with the Islands and their people, are proceeding upon the theory that there is no real desire upon the part of this Government ever to relinquish its control over the Philippines. Working under this, I hope, misapprehension, or perhaps deliberately trying to bring about a condition of affairs that will force this Government to retain the islands, these officials are endeavoring to do everything in their power which, in their opinion, will facilitate and insure the accomplishment of that end.

"This, Mr. Speaker, explains satisfactorily the unyielding attitude of the Philippine Commission and of those who support its policy of inducing to come into the islands as much American capital as possible. They know that those in this country who invest their money in the Philippines in lands, in factories, in mines, or in any other enterprise will struggle and do their best to defeat any legislation purporting to recognize Philippine independence, not precisely because of their lack of confidence in the ability of the Filipino people to govern themselves and to protect the rights and prop-

erties established in the islands, but because their investments will be safer under the joint guaranty and protection of both the Philippine Government and the Government of the United States. . . .

"Do you believe, Mr. Speaker, that any one investor would ever, if he could prevent it, permit the United States to escape from its responsibility?

"For this reason, if we had now, or should we have, before any definite policy regarding the future connection between the Philippines and the United States is officially announced, many American capitalists interested in the Philippines, the inevitable result would be the permanent retention of the islands."

To the American allies of the *gente illustrada* this contention appealed, and they have labored unceasingly to discourage our countrymen from making heavy investments in the Islands. As a tribute to their astuteness and indefatigability the Islands are likely to lose in the Friar Lands some millions of dollars which the natives must make up by taxation. More recently these Americans have been issuing warnings to individuals who were considering large Philippine investments. For example, in the summer of 1912, when Governor Forbes was in America, he met a large number of the most prominent capitalists in New York at a dinner and explained to them how capital was needed in the Archipelago and how it could

be made to pay. The next day each gentleman who had been present and who could be reached received a telegram from the chief official of an American Anti-Imperialist organization, setting forth the dangers of Philippine investment: and timid as capital is, very likely Governor Forbes's efforts with those particular men will be fruitless.

How much further this aggressive campaign against capital may extend, or where it may erupt next, nobody can foresee; but those behind it do not need to be informed that if it be persisted in very long and with the means at hand, there soon will be no prospective investors, and Governor Forbes's plans by which he believes he can secure capital enough to increase the revenues of the Insular Government so that he can put into the schools the one million and a half children who cannot now have this privilege because of lack of funds, will be checkmated. This will halt the most powerful instrument for the regeneration of the Filipino. The *gente illustrada* or some of the most prominent of them, at least, and their American allies in the United States, assert that it shall remain halted until independence or some promise of it be secured.

In this situation, the United States may make choice of but three courses. They may altogether withdraw, withdraw partly, or go on

as we have been proceeding for the past decade.

A complete withdrawal would mean that we would have no more to do with the Insular Government than now has Great Britain, France, Belgium, or Germany, each of which has very large investments and commercial interests in the Philippines. Besides the real property which we should have there out of our expenditures in the Islands of some three hundred million dollars and some other millions of private American investments, there would be several thousand Americans with their families who would be left behind, do the best we might. Their all is in their little enterprises, and always, no matter in what country they are likely to be massacred, they refuse to leave. They cannot leave as a matter of economics; and besides, as somebody has so well said, they are not of a running stock.

So, overleaping the chagrin we should have at abandoning to its fate the high purpose we have had to develop these lands only for the benefit of their natives, the United States would have very great interests in the Philippines, no matter how hard we might endeavor to free ourselves from them. And these interests would probably, in each item, be ten times as great as the corresponding one in the account between the Philippines and any other of the Great Powers.

If we may learn from the past, France, Germany, and Great Britain would send men-of-war to Manila the moment we announced that we were to leave the Islands to the Filipinos. They were all there to see that their particular interests were protected in 1898, Germany alone having five cruisers anchored beside Dewey's fleet for several months. The Filipinos have no ships of war, no army, no arms. These Islands undoubtedly have resources of great wealth. In time of war in the Far East, their possession as a base would be of very great advantage as against other nations not so fortunate.

Nations sometimes take things just because they want them. Germany is generally credited with taking all the territory she can secure, because she must do so to provide for her necessary commercial development. This is likewise true of Japan.

At the least imminent danger to the Philippine interests of any of the Great Powers, that instant would see her forces landed to protect her property and her people. There is small chance that the Islands, under such circumstances, could retain their autonomy. There is but little more likelihood that any nation now in the Far East would stay her hand even for so slight an excuse as that mentioned. And when any other nation does take them,

such effort as ours to uplift them is at an end. No other nation believes in treating a colony as we have treated the Philippines. The natives would be kept ignorant because they can thus be controlled easiest and least expensively. But a still more potent reason even for keeping the people in ignorance would be this: that thus they could best be handled so as to become a paying colony. In other words, any other nation except this one would handle the colony mainly for the interest of the dominant power. That is why these other nations are in the colonizing business.

With our improvements in the possession of the new owner, she would have little difficulty in extracting money from her acquisition the moment she stopped the continuance of the great expenditures for schools, roads, and harbors that the Insular Government has annually been appropriating. To a merciless master, who is intelligent, the Philippines are as rich a prize as the world now affords.

To presume that we are to give these lands to some other Power that is bound to use them only as an investment and as a means of obtaining advantage over us or over some other Power friendly to us, in the event of Asiatic disturbances that might involve the whole world — and which our relinquishment of the Philippines might very well cause, through

disturbing the delicate balance by which the *statu quo* in Far Eastern affairs is now maintained — is almost fantastic. The American people might consider a proposal that would give the Islands to the Filipinos. But to expect that we shall give them to some rival is quite another affair. Indeed, abandonment of the Islands is so manifestly repugnant to everybody that the most bitter American opponents of our Philippine policy have never even suggested independence unless it be coupled with neutralization. No Filipino has ever asked it upon any other basis. In a formal petition for immediate independence presented to the American Congress on May 14, 1910, Mr. Quezon, acting under instructions of the Philippine Assembly, stated:

"As a safeguard of the independence of the Philippines, the Filipinos ask of the American people their good offices in favor of the neutralization of the islands. The Filipinos firmly believe that in order to consummate the great work inaugurated by the United States in those islands she will not refuse to take the necessary steps to bring about the agreements of the great nations of the world for the neutralization of the Archipelago."

The leading Anti-Imperialist in the United States, Moorfield Storey, one of the ablest lawyers in the English-speaking world, advo-

cated the views just recorded before the House Committee on Insular Affairs, saying:

"That it is feasible to obtain such an agreement is, I think, hardly doubtful. . . .

"Moreover, what we are dealing with, that which we are afraid of, is not so much the anxiety on the part of any foreign nation to take the Philippine Islands because it wants the islands, as it is the fear that one nation may take them in order to prevent another nation from taking them. . . . Probably if England should be assured that Germany would not get them, and Germany that France would not get them, and France that no other foreign power would get them, they would be glad to agree that these islands should become independent. They would be protected by an international agreement against their being absorbed by any rival."

Messrs. Storey and Quezon, backed by the Philippine Assembly, undoubtedly have presented the sentiments and desires of those working for independence, and as not even they have expressed any wish for independence without neutralization, the subject is worthy of no further space than is required to note that their position is in itself considerable of a confession. The careful student would at once wonder if people who announce they dare not try to maintain themselves among the family of nations are able to maintain any stable government at all.

The only radical change, then, from our present relationship to the Islands that is open to us is the qualified or limited withdrawal.

The enthusiastic advocates — and there are many — of this way which they think will lighten our burdens and aid the Filipinos seem never to doubt that the plan is feasible and desirable. A careful examination, however, of the actualities of the problem cannot leave one entirely certain of the soundness of either contention. Certainly neutralization will not be secured by sending out reply cards with requests for assents by return post; that much the following will quickly demonstrate, but no better than Mr. Storey's naïve suggestion above, that all that be required is to have those inveterate enemies England and Germany, and France and Germany come to an agreement. The day when the lion and the lamb would lie down together has been prophesied for some two thousand years but it is still deferred.

The favorite asserted precedents for our proposal of neutralization are the cases of Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium. More unfortunate illustrations cannot be found, for there is no important analogy between these countries and the Philippines. The difference that is so radical as to prevent there being any real resemblance is that the Continental countries concerned are civilized and law-abiding and the

Philippines is not; at any rate, no nation will accept it as such after we recede from control, until it be proven. It is safe to assert that neither England, Japan, Germany, France, Belgium, nor Russia will agree to the integrity of the Philippines until they know just what the policies and future of the Filipinos are to be, and, so far as those nations have investments and citizens in the Islands, what the state of law and order is to be.

Further, when we ask the other Powers to agree to permit the Philippines to retain their independence, we are requesting an act of them that is a distinct sacrifice, at least so far as the nations there with investments and citizens are concerned, for we suggest that without recompense of any character they consent to an exchange of the security of their interests under our flag for the insecurity of a flag with no history over an uncivilized community.

Such a proposal is almost its rejection. It seems quite as absurd as the first course heretofore treated — abandonment.

The only reasonable neutralization, from the viewpoint of the Powers, would be one that left the United States with the responsibility for law and order toward the property and citizens and interests of all other nations. That arrangement, if we couple with it a substantial withdrawal of our present control of

the natives, means that we shall have the real responsibility to all the rest of the world for the internal conduct of the Filipinos without having the control of them. We should have no appointing power of the judiciary, for example, no guaranty that justice would be meted to foreigners, the rock upon which so many international friendships have split. We should have no control of their foreign policy or acts — and this in the most eruptive sphere within international influence, at a time when every great Power is manœuvering so carefully for advantageous positions a century hence in the Orient that no one nation is permitted by the others to loan money to any people in or near Asia. And, incidentally, when rich nations fight to loan money to a poor one, the latter's welfare is not the foremost motive of the would-be creditors.

In this position, so fraught with momentous possibilities, in the very center of the theater of action for all the commercial nations from now on, we may, to help the Filipinos or relieve ourselves, as we think, become responsible for the conduct of a people over whom we have no authority —but we should not do it blindly. We must examine the specific dangers, and the first of them is the relations with Great Britain — that is, with Japan.

Under what has been called the Secret

Treaty between Japan and England, understood to have been signed on August 12, 1905, the two countries concluded a defensive and offensive alliance, the object of which, in the text as since published, is:

"(*a*) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and India;

"(*b*) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China;

"(*c*) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defense of their special interests in the said regions; . . .

. . . . . .

Article II

"If by reason of unprovoked attacks or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any Power or Powers, either High Contracting Party should be involved in war in defense of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other High Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it."

This most remarkable document, which reaches the acme of Japan's diplomatic achieve-

ments, as extended in 1911, will remain in force until July 13, 1921. When the history of the great American, Henry W. Denison, who has been Japan's foreign policy for a quarter of a century, be written, this treaty must be his greatest work, with but one possible exception, of which mention will soon be made.

As an immediate result of this understanding, England was enabled to cut her naval forces in the Far East to the minimum and leave to the land of the Mikado the protection of all English interests in that distant region.

So it is with Japan that we must deal directly, when English interests are involved in the Far East — and Great Britain and Germany are in a bitter race for commercial control of the region involved. For this struggle Germany has raised the number of her Dreadnaughts to be ready in 1915 from the five possessed in 1911, when this alliance was extended, to nineteen; and her great rival, with but ten in 1911, will have twenty-six in two years from January, 1913.

Dealing with Japan and Japanese men-of-war is one thing. Dealing at a time of great stress with Great Britain and her Dreadnaughts is quite another affair; and yet, it is with Japan that we must treat concerning England's interests, as the Filipinos may become involved in them when we permit our present wards to handle their own foreign affairs.

But even of more import is the further fact that Japan has a very great interest upon her own account in the Philippines, much greater, I fear, than Americans as a rule appreciate.

Japan must expand or starve. All the Powers see that and treat it as a basic fact in any move that the island empire endeavors to effect.

Just prior to the opening of the Japanese-Chinese war, which showed the world that Japan was indeed a world power, Formosa, then owned by China, and Korea and Manchuria, which were certain to come within the sphere of the impending conflict, were overrun with Japanese soldiery, who mastered the military topography of these territories.

Just prior to the opening of the war by Japan against Russia, ten years later, all the Asiatic coast belonging to Russia or any other nation that might become the theater of war, was overrun by Japan in the same manner.

When, in 1906, the anti-Japanese sentiment broke out on our Pacific coast, California suddenly found herself entertaining more Japanese men than she had been aware were within her boundaries.

Officers of our forces in the Philippines reported at about the same time that there had arrived in the Archipelago a large number of Japanese soldiers in disguise, usually as peddlers, who, wherever they went in the Islands, were

inciting the natives against us; and the secret service reports in Manila are full of later evidences of this character.

Just prior to the disturbances in Mexico preceding the deposition of Diaz, which threatened for many weeks to compel us to intervene, an imposing number of high Japanese army and navy officials made a visit to the City of Mexico and for some weeks entertained in a most lavish and extravagant manner the chief men in the Mexican Government. When the Madero Revolution broke out, but a little later, our army officers discovered that along the Mexican side of the boundary, between that country and the United States, the entire region was overrun with Japanese, who had the set-up of soldiers, numbering in the aggregate, according to the best estimates, several thousand men, and perhaps enough to make an army corps. Our officers investigated sufficiently to learn that the visitors had made war maps of the entire boundary, or nearly so, showing all the fords of the Rio Grande, where water was to be had, etc., and all other topographical information such as armies require.

In the United States, at the same period, Japanese of soldierly appearance were discovered to be working along all our transcontinental railroads as section men, with an intimate knowledge of the location of every

bridge by which the East could be cut off from the West.

At or about the same time, Russia announced that thereafter she would extend her territorial waters to eight miles from her coast line, five miles beyond the prior international limits. This was bound to work great hardship on Japanese fishing interests and, because of the extent to which Japan is dependent upon fish for food, was an extremely important matter to that country, against which it was principally aimed. England, too, stood to lose heavily by the new limit, and both injured nations prepared to make violent protest.

The diplomatic world was aroused. But just at this juncture the anti-Russian agitation broke out in the United States, and in rather incendiary terms we notified Russia that we should abrogate the 1832 commercial treaty, because of her alleged mistreatment of American Jews.

No sooner had this action taken place than St. Petersburg was overrun with visiting Japanese, high officials in the army and navy, diplomats, committees of merchants, and even members of the imperial Japanese family, who entertained in luxurious style; and it was soon apparent that the more the relations between Russia and the United States became strained, the less there was said by Japan's representa-

tives at the Russian capital about the great blow that Russia had given to Japan's fishing interests — and various Russian newspapers announced that negotiations were under way between the two powers to effect just such an offensive and defensive alliance as that already in existence between Japan and England. Further, in the summer of 1912, newspapers that are usually cognizant of such affairs in both countries said that the treaty had actually been signed. Russia officially has denied it, but it is a fact that the various diplomatic chancelleries of the Continental capitals believe that such an understanding is in effect, and that it is credited in Washington — and England no longer protests against the eight-mile limit.

Japan, with Russia and England, or with Russia alone, would probably have but little difficulty in expanding in any direction that attracted her. When she took Formosa from China in the 1894 struggle, Formosa's people began to disappear and their places to be taken by Japanese. The same thing is occurring in Korea, which Russia lost to Japan in 1905 — and from Formosa to American waters in the Philippines is but thirty miles. It is but a hundred miles to the nearest of the Philippines and but 250 miles, or a single day's steam, for a fleet to the ports of Luzon itself. We may well be cautious, with these facts confronting us.

Another consequence of neutralization which involves our relinquishment of the conduct of the internal government of the Islands is the certainty that the progress of the helpless people there who constitute ninety per cent of the entire population will be at once relegated definitively to the hopeless estate that was their portion under Spain.

The reasons for this statement are not at all involved. A little reflection will convince any thoughtful student of the history of the development of nations that in ten years or so of civil government we have not regenerated the eight million Filipinos. With less than one per cent of the people in 1904 with the education of an American boy of fourteen years, and but three per cent to-day qualified under most liberal requirements to take part in governmental affairs, while of all the remainder of the population in 1904 probably not more than two or three per cent had ever read any book of general information, progress toward social revolution must have been but slight in the interim.

With all the wealth, all the learning, and with *caciquism*, the *gente illustrada* before we came had a grip upon the other ninety per cent of their fellow Filipinos as absolute as that of master over slave. The ambition of the *gente illustrada*, the ten per cent who oppose us at

every turn, is not the independence of the Philippines, but the independence of the *gente illustrada.*

When in the Islands, Mr. Taft was visited by a delegation of gentlemen, who, as he says, "desired independence at once and made an argument in its favor based on the ground, which they solemnly stated, that they had counted the number of *gente illustrada* or educated people in the Islands, and they had figured out the number of offices to be filled, and had found that the number of educated people in the Islands was more than double the number of offices to be filled. They reasoned, therefore, that as the offices could be filled twice, by educated incumbents, first by one party and then by the other party, the country was ready for self-government." [1]

And those gentlemen were as educated and able, probably, as can be found in the Islands. According to their ideas, their training, their minds, their instincts, they had offered all the argument that was needed to demonstrate that the government should be turned over to them, thus insuring to them the repossession of their former absolute control of the submerged other ninety per cent of the population.

And yet, if we neutralize and do turn the governmental powers over to anybody in the

[1] W. H. Taft, "Chautauqua Address," p. 36.

Philippines, we must turn it over to these same *gente illustrada*. They alone have any education, experience of affairs, and knowledge at all of matters of state.

It is for their interests to obtain as much power for themselves as they can. There are no men on earth in their situation who would not do that very thing. There are not, and there never have been, *gente illustrada* that did not do the same thing in any country and that did not do it as long as they could. The Philippine *gente illustrada*, like all their predecessors in history, will refuse to educate the ninety per cent over whom they have a life and death domination, because the Little Red Schoolhouse means the end of their rule. The *gente illustrada* will discourage investments by foreigners, because that means the raising of wages, competition, and the inculcation of hope for betterment that will not long submit to oppression. All books and newspapers will be censored just as they were under Spain. Everything that means uplift to the masses will be discouraged, because such a movement weakens the domination of the controlling ten per cent, their incomes, and their honors. And they will be successful in these methods of suppression until there is created a public opinion in that Archipelago so strong to the contrary that the *gente illustrada*, for their

very lives, will not longer dare to persist, but will yield with their backs to the wall, fighting desperately every encroachment of republican, democratic ideals, yielding one reform, one concession, after the other, only so rapidly as they must. It is the history of all *gente illustrada* of all peoples and of all times. It is the story of the globe. Such is human nature and so it will always be. And there can be no public opinion until the people can read, and have something to read.

The Philippine *gente illustrada* have no better case to present to us as proof of what they would do than what we know they did in the Aguinaldo days, from 1896 to 1901. They had an opportunity then. There can be no reasonable doubt it was a rule of assassination and cruelty. It was even more despotic and oppressive than the Spanish Government had ever been.[1] It began with a plot to massacre every Spaniard in bed, at night, at a fixed tolling of the hour by the church bells. There were assassinations among the leaders in their efforts to reach or to maintain leading place. The rôle played by Aguinaldo in that struggle will always be open to dispute. Unfavorable commentators say that just when he had Spain beaten, he and thirty-four other leaders entered

[1] Address before New York Chamber of Commerce, April 21, 1904, by W. H. Taft, Secretary of War, p. 4.

into a written contract with Spain by which, for eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, they were to retire from the rebellion; that of this sum but two hundred thousand dollars was paid and that all paid to Aguinaldo alone, in advance; and that he has been living on this as a retired wealthy landowner ever since, having betrayed his army, his thirty-four companions in arms, and Spain, too, for he would not stay bought, but returned contrary to the contract and began another revolution, which he had discovered to be a pretty profitable business.

His friends, on the other hand, say that he took the money when he saw he could not win in that particular rebellion, his purpose being to use it to finance a later uprising, when the omens might prove more favorable — and that his later course is evidence of the disinterestedness of his conduct.

All that seems capable of absolute proof is that he was a poor school-teacher before the rebellion; that he did retire from that struggle together with all his principal leaders — an act that broke the rebellion; that the thirty-five were to have had altogether eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars from Spain according to a written document, when they laid down their arms; that of this sum Aguinaldo was to have four hundred thousand dollars; that Spain defaulted the balance that was to go to the other

thirty-four and besides defaulted all of the eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars except the two hundred thousand dollars which, under the terms of the contract, had to be paid — and was so paid — to Aguinaldo in cash before he would cease war operations; that he and his leaders retired from the rebellion, went to China, purchased some arms, and in a few months returned and led a second rebellion; and candor makes it necessary to say, without prejudice or design, that Aguinaldo has been financially independent ever since. For similar reason it should also be added that there are many sources from which Aguinaldo might legitimately have become as well-to-do as he is.

The important thing about the whole controversy is that it suggests much, if it be not typical of much, that surrounds any complete history of the Aguinaldo administration.

I have talked with Aguinaldo in his own home about his views of our occupation. He is bitterly opposed to everything that we have done. He believes in none of it. He told me so in every word and look, and he is by far the greatest man the Filipinos have produced, when deeds done are taken as the criterion. No other native has been able to organize the people into any coherent effort — and he is not yet forty-five years of age. If we put the *gente illustrada* into actual power, it is unlikely that

he will remain quietly at Cavite Viejo, where he may now be found upon his farm. His is the only national figure on the ground. We should have another Aguinaldo government, in effect and all substance, even if he himself were not it.

With so great a prize at stake as the leadership — one might almost say ownership — of eight million most ignorant natives, taken as a whole, with bitter hatred between some of the tribes, with the inevitable jealousies that must exist among those anxious for the supreme power, he would be rash who would confidently project the outcome as one of peace and good order. Barring the sudden rising of some giant who has not yet appeared, the lists which would determine the identity of the new leader would contain only a large number of men of about the same order of ability, with all the chances favoring the man who could make the most seductive speech to the ignorant masses.

Yet there are those who urge that neutralization should be given a trial and perhaps given trial now, as soon as we can make the necessary agreements with the interested nations, if they can be made, which is not at all clear. Their reasons appear chiefly to be about as follows: Given control, the *gente illustrada* and the people at large will learn more about how to conduct and how not to conduct a government in a year

than they will learn under any tutelage in a century. It is said that it is responsibility that develops men; and that when President Grant was asked by the late emperor of Japan how the Japanese could best be taught to vote, the great soldier sententiously responded, "By voting" — and therefore the best way for the Filipinos to learn to govern is by governing.

It is pointed out that we have laid great stress upon withholding independence from the Filipinos until we are sure they can maintain a stable government, and maintain peace and order, whereas if we wait until we are sure of that, they will never be free, for nobody can maintain peace and order always. We are not going to do it out there very long, it is asserted, nor is England going to continue doing it indefinitely in India. We are told that in the latter country, the moment the natives see that the white garrison is weak enough, the days of 1857 will recur, when the Sepoys, the most favored theretofore by the English, sprang at every white throat in an instant.

It is also urged that in our present course we may be doing too much for the Filipino for his own good; that he will be in the position of a son of a rich man, about the most dangerous height that a boy can occupy, and with not half the chance of success that the newsboy has, whose very struggles make him able to be suc-

cessful; that the very failures and struggles of a government by Filipinos will make it strong and enduring. It is observed that even if the Filipino does his worst, he could hardly eclipse involving the entire Archipelago for four years in a civil war between brothers as an achievement; and that the way to build a nation is through its very wars, its revolutions, its rebellions, its assassinations, its disgraces, its shames, and its consequent revulsions to better things. It is said that the Filipinos will need great men, and are they, Minerva-like, full-panoplied, and endowed with great wisdom, to leap from out the forehead of Jupiter? The answer, they tell us, is that only great events will make men great, or bring them to the front, which is the same thing; that great crises are the fires that temper the steel that will bend but not break, with which nations must be welded.

Finally, those urging these views frequently refer to the recent rapid rise of Japan as an earnest of what an Oriental nation can accomplish with modern, Occidental facilities.

As to most of these arguments, it must be admitted that they are entitled to very great weight, that they go to the very roots of the problem, and that no informed man, of his own knowledge, may say absolutely that they do or do not indicate what would be best for the Filipinos.

But there is one thing of which we can be confident, and that is that the comparison with Japan is not effective. In the first place, Japan is not a tropical country. It lies in the temperate zone, its northern point reaching to about the same degree as that of Maine, and its southern limits corresponding to New Orleans, with practically the same variations of temperature as we possess. Its people have the quick, active minds and bodies of the other inhabitants of that zone. Brought down to the Philippines, the Japanese work no better than do the native islanders.

But most important of all, is the fact that Japan has arisen by her own efforts. No other nation has supplied her with roads, railroads, schools, hospitals, harbors, a stable government, the telegraph, the telephone, the modern weapons of defense and attack. To be sure, the Occident taught her these things, but it was because Japan had the ambition and good sense to see that she must acquire these engines of progress if she was to be one of the Powers. She sent her boys and men here to see how we constructed these things, and employed them. She hired our experts to go across the Pacific and install them. But always she was in control. If mistakes were made, it was Japan who paid. She directed the innovations, using us merely as encyclopedias; and then, as soon as she had

mastered her lesson, she packed our experts back home or else continued them as employees merely. She struck out for herself, and she will not disappear, for she has learned her trade.

The Filipinos have not learned it. They have not even begun to serve their time. As miraculously as if out of the skies, they have been given the attributes of modern civilization without one struggle or any insistent desire to obtain them. It is a house founded upon the sands, not upon the permanent foundation that is builded of the knowledge that comes only with the actual experiences of the struggles and failures of long-continued, determined effort; and until they have developed a national spirit that calls for, yes demands even, a modern civilization, it is idle to compare their future with that of a nation which has done that very thing.

There remains to consider but the third possible policy we may pursue: the indefinite continuance of the policy we declared at the beginning of our occupation and to which we have, as best we could, tenaciously held ever since, to wit, in the words of McKinley:

"To take to those distant people the principles of liberty, of freedom, of conscience, and of opportunity that are enjoyed by the people of the United States."

With this in view, Governor Forbes published the following message to the Filipinos:

"To the Filipinos I say, turn your undivided attention to the material development of your country and rest confident in the good faith of the United States. If it were the desire of the United States to prevent the Filipinos from becoming a progressive, happy, and united people, strong in the accumulations of wealth and knowledge and capability of nationality, we should not be devoting our entire energies toward the accomplishment of those measures which make such a nationality possible; we should not be providing all of the people of the Islands with a common language; we should not be maintaining different organizations of armed Filipinos drilled in the art of war, aggregating ten thousand men, of whom five thousand are paid from the Treasury of the United States as United States troops; we should not be extending the privileges of occupying the more important posts in the government service to Filipinos; we should not be devoting our first efforts toward binding the Filipinos together into a closer union by those ties which come from improved means of communication, as post-offices, telegraph and telephones, railroads, roads, subsidized steamboats, and so forth."

If Governor Forbes be retained in his position, he will steadily shape his administration toward securing the development of Island resources through American capital, in order

HIGHEST TYPES OF THE TAGALOG *GENTE ILLUSTRADA*.

Governors of Tagalog Provinces in 1904.

that the revenues of the local government may thus be increased to a figure that will permit more rapid expenditure upon the roads, railroads, harbors, and schools, our chief civilizing forces.

With almost the same assurance, it may be asserted that he will secure this capital, for he knows how to do it. Before he went to the Islands at all, the securing of capital and its investment was his daily work. The financiers will follow his recommendations in the end, even if the actual investment of the money be somewhat postponed because of the present opposition of the *gente illustrada.*

We shall make steady if slow progress. We have done so from the beginning, and there would seem to be no good reason why the record cannot be indefinitely continued. Unquestionably we can give the submerged ninety per cent of the Filipinos a better opportunity to improve their condition than they ever had or can hope to secure under any other régime. It is a chance and a chance only that many of them need. The United States has millions of immigrants who know what that means.

Much has been said of the Filipino's presumed lack of thrift, just as it used to be said of the Irish before they came to America and showed the world what they could do with a fair opportunity.

For example, it has been contended that the Filipino cannot be depended upon for consecutive work. He certainly could not be under Spain, for he had no assurance that he would be paid at all, and whenever he did receive remuneration it was frequently in bad coin. He had no incentive.

We met this apparent indifference as soon as we went to the Islands, but we have had little difficulty with it. One of the most prominent instances indicating the possibilities of these people appears in the history of the construction of the street railway system in Manila. Some five hundred natives were set at the work. Upon the second day only about a third of them were on hand. The day after that, twice as many came, and so it went, up and down, for a fortnight. No expostulations of the contractor were of any avail. The workmen were unable to see why he should complain, as he paid them nothing when they did not labor. The response to that was the establishment of a rule that absence meant discharge. That ended the difficulty for the time, but after some weeks there were wholesale desertions again, this time because the workers wanted to visit their families. The proximate cause of the Balangiga massacre of our troops was due to an officer's insistence that there be no concession to native employees, permitting such returns

to the family roof. The American who had charge of the Manila construction was wiser. He saw that a Filipino will not long remain absent from his home. The contractor soon discovered a remedy. He merely moved the homes to the work. Then, again, the men were unable to accomplish much after the noon hour. A little investigation disclosed the reason; they ate nothing, practically, between the two working periods, but spent the time in sleep. By handing each laborer a dime just before twelve o'clock daily, and obtaining the presence of vendors of nutritious foods when the whistle blew, the efficiency of each man was doubled.

Several illustrations to the same general effect are to be found in Mr. Hamilton M. Wright's useful volume, where he says:[1]

"Perhaps the most striking example that could be given of the success that may come to the Anglo-Saxon that makes good workmen of the native population and improves their condition as well as his own, is to be found in the marvelous experience of Mr. John Orr, of Dalupaon, a town founded by him in Southern Luzon. Mr. Orr went to the Philippines fourteen years ago and engaged in lumbering the inexhaustible mahoganies, ebonies, and construction woods. When he settled at Dalu-

[1] Hamilton M. Wright, "Handbook of the Philippines," pp. 347–350, McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1907.

paon, eight years ago, the people of the vicinity, who were a wild tribe of the great Bicol Filipinos, lived in trees and subsisted on roots, fish that were cast up by the sea, and the precarious fruits of the chase. Mr. Orr taught these people how to work, and he paid them for their work. They became efficient laborers, and to-day his foremen and skilled foresters require no supervision. At the present time there are in the vicinity about three hundred families, who live in good houses of native construction, wear good clothes, go to church, and send their children to the schools provided by Mr. Orr. That the most of the Filipino people do best under paternal administration is attested by the immunity from various disasters which has attended Mr. Orr's workers. When, about half a decade ago, the cholera broke out in Ambos Camarines Province and destroyed about eighteen per cent of the population, Mr. Orr quarantined his little community by placing an armed sentry at each trail leading from the forest. Not a person was taken with the cholera. When the insurrection broke out, Mr. Orr's men remained at work. When grim famine followed the insurrection, and tens of thousands perished for food or succumbed to disease, and when our Government was expending millions of dollars in the importation of rice to relieve the famine-stricken districts, Mr. Orr had abundant food for his employees. . . . And so through war, famine, and pestilence, this pioneer kept his own people busy and happy, and was at the same time carrying on a profitable venture. Some of his workers

have never left the cuttings, and only three of them have ever left him to seek employment elsewhere. None have ever expressed genuine dissatisfaction. . . .

"Mr. Frank C. Cook, president of the Davao Planters' Association, owns a plantation on the Balutaca River, forty-five miles south of Davao, Mindanao Island. When first he went to the region, in the early nineties, Mr. Cook came upon a lovely valley in the midst of a jungle. The scattered tribes living about — pagan Bogobos and others — were wild, timid, and quarrelsome. Mr. Cook at first found it difficult to get into communication with them, but by living there alone he won their confidence. Under his direction a village street was laid out, trees were planted, and houses built. The wild Malay showed a willingness to work, and sought food, clothing, and merchandise. At the end of two years, Mr. Cook had a village of about two thousand people upon his plantation; to-day he can put a hundred extra men to work in the fields at any time. The people are simple-minded and industrious; they have never molested any white man, nor committed any violent crimes among themselves."

These are not isolated cases, but typical ones, and their continual recurrence will help wherever they be found. In time, similar results may be expected all over the Archipelago.

But we shall never succeed in replacing the

Oriental minds of the Filipinos with Caucasian ones, nor Filipino natural traits with those of our own race. If there is any means by which these things can be secured, it is by miscegenation, and even then we cannot be certain of the issue, for no crossed animal has ever yet become entirely like his father and unlike his mother, or *vice versa*. The progeny is like neither. He is a new being. But this phase is probably not to be considered seriously, further than to asseverate that it is not to be the solution. It never has been in any other similar problem. Yet it is necessary to say that the exhibition of any unusual ability by a Filipino is always the proximate cause of an inquiry into the man's ancestry, for the Filipino with a father of Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, French, British, or American blood is usually a great improvement in ability upon his mother's people. The vigor of the foreigners is usually so much greater than that of the natives that an intermixture usually means a long advance in brain and character power. A similar result we must acknowledge to follow the union of the negro and the American.

Considerable space was devoted in the first chapter to the natural traits of the Filipino. They are, in the main, the same as those of almost all the Orientals. Those tendencies do not lend themselves readily to the establish-

ment of a modern democracy through their own efforts, or its continuance, if it is anyhow supplied to them, whenever their ideas are those that control. Were they, then, to be put in possession of their government now, their government would be one upon Oriental lines. If they are put in possession of their government a hundred years hence, their government will be one upon Oriental lines; and so far as history goes back, no Oriental government has ever been one in which republican ideals or privileges has obtained. It is contrary to inborn tendencies of the people of that hemisphere.

We must know, then, once for all, that there will never be a real United States of the Philippines, no matter when we turn the Islands back to their people.

And more, there is no assurance that we ever *shall* turn them back. Indeed, there is considerable probability that the *gente illustrada* and the American Anti-Imperialists are correct in asserting that if Americans invest heavily in the Philippines, the United States will never relinquish the Islands. Certainly every American concern with money there will do everything it can to retain the protection of our flag; and with a hundred million dollars of American capital in the Archipelago, there would be created a most powerful opponent of any alteration of

our present relations to the Island Government. For once, at any rate, the Anti-Imperialists see things as they are. It is but the simple truth to admit that if we get this American capital into the Islands, it will very likely get *us* into them so far that we shall never get out, even if capital proved the only active objector to our withdrawal.

But other opposition there is bound to be, and that which will have little less effect upon Congress or upon public sentiment in the United States: and that is the constant working of many of our American officials out there to keep our flag at the masthead — not a bad sentiment. That is mere human nature, and in justice to those concerned, it should be said that probably their opposition to our withdrawal will be largely unconscious. The power that they will exert will be very hard to negative, because they are upon the ground; and it will be rare that a stranger to the Islands can successfully refute a statement of those so much better informed through their personal contact with Island problems. In fact, it will be well-nigh impossible to gainsay their combined reports.

If stay there we do, there are some results that can now be foretold with considerable accuracy. For one thing, there is to be faced the continual murmur of the word "Independ-

ence," that ever since Aguinaldo's rebellion has been in the mouths of the *gente illustrada.* The English and the other European colonizing peoples know what they are talking about when they criticize us for telling the Filipinos that we shall set them free, that everything we are out there for is to prepare them for that state, and that we are giving them schools because that will make them our equals. These foreign critics have always said that the natives would some day rise against us. It certainly is extremely probable, considering the resiliency of that term "Independence." It acts like a germ that never leaves any system it enters. It multiplies until the fever of it possesses men utterly. It grows by what it feeds upon. It seems endowed with magic and boundless power. It possesses immortality.

It seems folly to believe that these extremely bright, intelligent, ambitious, proud *gente illustrada* are going to sit by tamely until we tell them that we think they can run their government. Certainly the *gente illustrada* will never agree with us as to just when they arrive at the state of development we demand of them. Indeed, they are quite sure that they have reached it already. In that they doubtless disagree with us at this moment by some centuries; for if it be true that we are not going to set these people free until they can run, or we think they

can and will run, a pure democracy like our own, that time never will arrive, for the Oriental will never want a pure democracy, as it is contrary to his idea of what a government should be — and he will have his way as soon as he can procure it.

But if we are to persist in this hopeless task of making a Caucasian mind in an Oriental skull, the day will eventually come when we shall have educated so many Filipinos that they will probably rebel at some of our injustices. If they do not revolt under such provocation, for example, as our delay in giving them the 1909 tariff laws, certainly our efforts to educate them with American ideals will have accomplished little. If they rebel, we shall, of course, reconquer them, and then very likely take their uprising as another evidence of their inability to set up a stable government, with the result that we shall have a fresh reason why independence be withheld from them for another century or so.

If we remain, we shall have to continue indefinitely our expenditure of some millions with each new year.

Then, too, we shall govern the Islands often badly, at times very badly, because the Congress at Washington will not pass legislation that will benefit or even save the Filipinos, if such action injure American interests and particularly

powerful American industries. Whenever the two countries clash, it will be the Filipinos who will suffer. They are so far away that we shall not hear their cries of distress often enough to be kept aroused until we can answer their great need. It took about ten years to get the Congress to grant free trade between the United States and the Islands, although the latter were prostrate industrially because of the lack of this very legislation. The American sugar and tobacco interests, in the main, were able to postpone for this long period of time the only laws that would afford relief.

There will always be similar neglect so long as the Islands be dependent upon the American Congress, not because that body is any more selfish or neglectful than any other corresponding body of a great nation — but because the American Congress will be and has been just like all other Congresses in history in their handling of similar situations. The story of the treatment by the British Parliament of England's colonies in this country and of Ireland is the only precedent that need be cited.

Such is the Philippine Problem in 1913.

The American Congress must decide the policy the United States shall pursue.

He would be extremely bold who could feel sure which in the end will be the best course,

either for the Filipinos or for the United States. But it must be evident that the logic of the entire situation, especially in view of the awakening of the Far East and of the extraordinary diplomatic developments of 1911–1912, inevitably may compel us to continue as we have begun.

FINIS